

# ON THE MARCH



ANARCHIST NEWS, OPINION, THEORY, AND STRATEGY OF TODAY

Volume 1, Issue 3

★ Winter 2000-2001 ★

One Dollar

## IN THIS ISSUE

**Shutting Down the School of the Americas**

see story Page 3

**Fighting to Save Mumia Abu Jamal**

see story Page 4

**COINTELPRO: Then and Now (Part II)**

see story Page 7

**Women In Struggle Special Section**

see Pages 10 & 11

**Capitalism, Private Property and the State**

see Page 12

**Reclaiming Our History:**

• Kuwasí Balagoun

• Lucy Parsons

see Page 13

**Resuscitating Anarchism**

see story Page 15

**Anarchist Black Cross Federation Updates**

see Page 18

**Political Prisoner Directory**

see Page 20

AND MORE...

## Revolutionary Barrio Organizing Confronts Cops, Electoral Politics, Racism

By Ernesto Aguilar

For the last 30 years, an intense counterinsurgency war has been waged against the Chicano/Latino community in the US. From

repressive anti-immigrant and English-only legislation in the West to police in the East, authorities have used language differences, racism, perceived weakness and brute force to repress Latino youth, community organizers and activists. But today, Chicano/Latino youth are forging their parents' faith in the system for a new type of revolutionary barrio organizing.

The '90s brought a strong push by the media to portray Chicano/Latino solely in caricature. Youth are implicated in violence, gang-bangers, drug-dealers and adults are the laborers, maids and gardeners. Their presence, unwelcome by the press, is listed to be a necessary evil of capitalism — of people forced by need to work for little wage in deplorable conditions. Reporters hype a "Latin explosion" every six years or so, as people round up Mexican youth right outside their windows; but it's on the streets where a real "Latin explosion" is building.

Earlier promises of social equality through integration have proven mockeries to many Latino youth. Today, they face police harassment, photographing and detainment for "looking like gang members." More laws attempt to strip them of their culture, public use of Spanish and free expression. But the attacks have led to resistance in the form of street organizing and knowing and asserting your rights by any means necessary.

**History of Struggle**  
Books like Rodolfo Acuña's *Occupied America* correctly point out the history of struggle waged by particularly Mexicans in the United States. While the media chooses to treat La Raza (roughly translated, Mexican and Latino people) as a submissive minority, our roots are indigenous. Many who trace their origins through Mexico and Central America are descended from tribes colonized by European conquerors, enslaved and slaughtered in the quest for land.

In the last 30 years, organizing has grown more militant. In 1969, the *Crusade For Justice*, led by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez, organized the historic "National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference." This historic conference produced one of the liberation movement's key documents, *El Plan de Aztlán*, and articulated a revolutionary vision within the movement.

The National Chicano Moratorium was declared by Raza in East Los Angeles in 1970 in response to the disproportionate numbers of Latino and Black soldiers sent to die in Vietnam, especially given that Chicanos constituted the highest number of casualties in the war proportionate to their number in the population. The barrio activists who organized the Moratorium were those radicalized by the turbulent era. The resulting police riot at the demonstration resulted in the assassination of prominent Mexican journalist Ruben Salazar, among others.

Through the '70s, Chicano/Latino organizing ran the gamut of perspectives — from Ramsey Muñiz running for governor of Texas under the

La Raza Unida Party banner to the direct action-orientated Brown Berets, which took their inspiration from the Black Panthers and Young Lords. The Brown Berets traced their origins to a Los



Angeles group founded in 1967 called the Young Citizens for Community Action. Sponsored by an inter-faith church group, the YCCA became known for its brown berets (berets were typical of many radical groups of the period) and came

continued on page 9

## Political Treachery & Mob Rule

By Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin

Well, we have now had this scam of an election, and yet we still don't know the name of the white ruling class representative for President. The story goes on after the closest election in US history, and as always, the Black vote seems to have put a Democratic Party representative over the top, or at least kept him in the game. But what are we getting from Gore from all this? Nothing but promises, and many times not even that, just a smile and a wink. He smiles because he knows he's got us, and he winks to show he's in with the "in crowd." The fix is always in!

And that "compassionate conservative," George W. Bush, who sought to fool Black people into voting for him did not get any significant vote from the Black community. The community was not fooled at all by the OGC recognizing that it has been taken over by the Religious Right and the warmongers of mass forces. Bush is a racist, a warmonger and a hypocrite. Black people must stand up and elect a Black president.

continued on page 17

## Stop the Assault on the U'wa in Colombia

By Lars Din

*The U'wa people continue with our strong position against exploitation of our resources in our ancestral and sacred territory. We continue denouncing before the world the U'wa man acts that the multinational Occidental of Colombia Inc. and the Colombian government render upon our people.*

*We do not accept for any reason the exploitation of our territory, which is duly titled in the name of the collective property of the U'wa people.*

*Association of U'wa Traditional Authorities Pronouncement to the National and International Community, November 22, 2000*

In early November, while media attention was riveted to ruling-class wrangling over the US presidential seat, a Los Angeles-based oil company ignored victorious international protest and started drilling on indigenous lands in Colombia. Since 1988 Occidental Petroleum has scheduled to extract petroleum from under the feet of the U'wa tribe. With help from the Colombian government and their brutal military, they've bribed, threatened and tricked the people of this mountain community to get access to their ancestral land.

To the U'wa, this is only the latest assault by the Riowa (outsiders) in 500 years of colonial encroachment. Since the conquistadors, settlers

and the military have forced the tribe to withdraw further into the cloud forests of the Andean Mountains to carry on their "work of collaborating with the spirits to protect the heart of the world." The U'wa consider oil "the blood of our mother earth" and warn that sucking it out disrupts the natural order.

**Profits = Violence**

Oil operations in Colombia have been a magnet for violence and environmental devastation. In 1996 alone, according to that government, there were 38 assassinations, 18 murders, 21 incidents of torture, 44 kidnappings, 151 illegal detentions, 2,560 incidents of harassment, and 150 displacements of people in the neighboring Arauca region. Guerrillas have bombed Oxy's pipeline through Arauca nearly 500 times in the past 10 years, spilling 2 million barrels of crude oil into the soil and rivers — more than eight Exxon Valdez's worth.

In spite of massive military deployment, at a cost to Occidental of up to \$180,000 per day, the Colombian government has been unable to muster any real protection for the oil operations at nearby Caño Limón. The main pipeline is no sooner repaired than bombed again, clipping oil production by nearly half (from 115,000 barrels per day to 25,000 in October). Nor are the Colombian military and National Guard

continued on page 5



U'wa blockade of road to drill site

## WHAT IS ONWARD?

ONWARD is an Anarchist newspaper intending to facilitate both a report of Anarchist activities worldwide, and foster analysis of current events from an Anarchist perspective. In the process of building an intelligent, well informed and powerful revolutionary movement that can challenge the present state apparatus. Our goal is to show the relation of the different liberation struggles (animal, earth and human) and the unification of often separated movements. Different Anarchist viewpoints (Syndicalist, Feminist, Green etc.) are not mutually exclusive, but rather all fit together in the larger revolutionary framework. Real liberation is freedom in every sphere of life, we must dissolve all forms of hierarchy that tangle the world in coercion, oppression, and domination and replace them with liberatory and cooperative structures guaranteeing all to participate in reshaping the local and world communities. We aim for a social sphere that needs and desires no such rulings over our lives and communities. We demand decision making be direct, not representative, and that no ruler and no rule should reign over society. Our short-term goal is an action which will result in the long-term goal and action of social revolution.

To that end, ONWARD is a forum for Anarchist news locally and globally, and contains Anarchist and radical history, theory and opinion in order to not only critique the social and political relationships that exist today, but also to present a viable and logical future based on voluntary cooperation, direct and participatory democracy, mutual aid, solidarity, and freedom. In short, Anarchy.

## SUBMISSIONS:

ONWARD relies on submissions from people throughout the world. They can be on a wide variety of topics: from news to opinion to theory. In an effort to further the struggle, please include information on how to get involved in the issue you're reporting on, but please do not exceed 2,000 words in length. Pictures and other graphics are needed and should be sent to our PO Box (listed below). Though we prefer articles be sent on email, they can also be sent on IBM format disks, or send hard copies to the PO Box. The collective reserves the right to edit articles for length, content and clarity, but please include your name, address (print and email) and phone number in the case of large editions.

## ADVERTISEMENTS:

While our desire to keep this paper as possible means we limit the amount of advertisements we accept, we will encourage interested advertisers to get in contact. Our rates are as follows:  
1/8 page (4.75"x7.75"): \$15  
1/4 page (3.25"x7.75"): \$30  
1/4 page (4.75"x7.75"): \$30

## DISTRIBUTION:

We want your participation to help distribute ONWARD as widely as possible!  
10 copies: \$7; 20 copies: \$13; 30 copies: \$20; 40 copies: \$25; 50 copies: \$30; 60 copies: \$35; 80 copies: \$45; 100 copies: \$50.  
For outside the US, please add \$3. We suggest mailing the paper for \$1 per copy.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS:

ONWARD relies on subscriptions and donations in order to sustain itself, so please subscribe! Subscriptions for one year are \$7-10 in the US, \$10-13 elsewhere. As always, subscriptions are free to prisoners. Single issues are \$2 (pdf \$3) in the US and Puerto Rico (\$3 pdf elsewhere). Send cash, checks or money orders made out to ONWARD to our PO Box.

## DISCLAIMER:

The views expressed in ONWARD are those of the author and appear in the paper because we find them relevant, not because they mirror our own beliefs. No article in the publication is intended to encourage or promote illegal activity, this content is solely for educational purposes. Intentionally revised spellings are expressions of individual contributor's political beliefs (i.e. "woman" instead of "women").

## DEADLINES: ISSUE 4

Submissions/Ads: March 1, 2020.  
Issue 4 will be out late March.

## THE ONWARD COLLECTIVE:

Rob Augman, Neil Babbitt, Dan Berger, Je-Freé Frank, Tom Gabel, Tom Thompson, Justin Tichy

# ★ TABLE OF CONTENTS ★

Page 3	★ Shutting Down the SOA! • Protests at the TABD	Page 12	<b>THEORY:</b> • Capitalism, Private Property and the State
Page 4	• New Evidence in the Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal • Earth First! Action Against Cement Plant	Page 13	<b>RECLAIMING OUR HISTORY:</b> • Kuwasi Balagoon • Lucy Parsons
Page 6	Custodians Fight Night Shift - and Win!	Page 14	<b>OPINION:</b> • Who Will Police the Police? • Fatphobia
Page 7	• COINTELPRO: Then and Now II • Immokalee Farmworkers' Struggle	Page 15	<b>OPINION:</b> • John Brown Rises • Resuscitating Anarchism
Pages 10-11	<b>WOMEN IN STRUGGLE:</b> • Women in the EZLN • Sexual Assault in Activism • Women and self defense <b>AND MORE!</b>	Page 18	Anarchist Black Cross Federation Updates
		Page 19	Letters to ONWARD...
		Page 20	Political Prisoner/ Prisoner of War Directory

## From the Onward Collective, "Anarchism is..."

In activist communities, bickering still continues on and on about the damn elections, as if parliamentary politics had anything to do with social movements! If we're actually serious about a bottom-up movement and wide social transformation, our focus must stay on our struggles for a real participatory society, not on bureaucratic, state systems that argue over only whose will be shown for the next 4 years of State Capitalism.

While politicians battle it out in the courts and speakeasies, read about it in the papers, the real battles that need to be fought are the ones in our workplaces, school systems, and communities. The real battle isn't over which rich white male will take the wheel and drive us into hell and back once again, but over how the people are going to take real action against the system of elite 'democracy' and begin to create a participatory democracy. The real battles aren't over how to better balance the budget, whether the military, the police, or the prison should win first place in expenditures, but over how to organize the economy according to our needs and desires based on the ideas of solidarity. In this issue of ONWARD we don't concentrate on politicians wrestling for the belt, but on real politics that effect us and on how to build our politics up from the bottom and one day replace the awful monster of State Capitalism.

Our goals are huge, and we've been believers for a long, long time. Our incredible history shows a committed movement dedicated to the abolition of Capitalism and the State. And today, we carry on that tradition. But much has been distorted and we hope to supply the space needed to discuss what we really want.

As Anarchism lives on through the 21<sup>st</sup> century we face the same power struggles we have always faced. In this issue, we highlight the role of women in revolutionary struggle (pages 10-11). While the oppressions of concrete institutions crush us all beneath their boots, we carry these oppressions with us playing power games and crushing others beneath our boots. It is of utmost importance that we not only challenge the State, but our own internalized oppressive thoughts and actions. Real revolutionary change is all encompassing, and it is vital that everyone regards social revolution as a constant process and if we all aren't constantly challenged – and constantly challenging ourselves – then we will not move forward. In addition to the centerfold section, Chris Cross' "Tools for White Guys Working on Social Change" (page 12) offer helpful suggestions at beginning this process. This issue highlights recent victories (page 6).

It is our supreme hope and desire that this newspaper plays a large role in building an intelligent and well-informed movement that is truly capable of effectively challenging the State and remaining society of course; this paper can only be a complement to other existing, important activism, but an important complement. If you agree and want to help, contact us. We are setting up distribution chapters to get the paper into as many hands as possible and need help! Or, you can help simply by subscribing and/or giving a financial contribution. For an Anarchist paper to be successful, we need the active support of the Anarchist movement.

Our next issue, Spring 2001 will feature a special section on Queer Anarchism. If you would like to contribute to this issue, send in your articles by March 1<sup>st</sup>, and we mean it! We welcome ideas, suggestions, articles or anything else you would like to offer. Elections, politicians and presidents come and go, but the basic power struggles stay the same. Our challenge is to make real, lasting revolutionary change in every aspect of society, no matter which puppet claims to be running the show. It's time to build.

In Solidarity and Struggle  
Rob Augman and Dan Berger  
The Onward Collective

the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government – harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being. In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations which already now begin to cover all the fields of human activity would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the State in all its functions. They would represent an interwoven network, composed of an infinite variety of groups and federations of all sizes and degrees, local, regional, national and international – temporary or more or less permanent – for all possible purposes: production, consumption and exchange, communications, sanitary arrangements, education, mutual protection, defense of the territory, and so on; and, on the other side, for the satisfaction of an ever-increasing number of scientific, artistic, literary and social needs. Moreover, such a society would represent nothing immutable. On the contrary – as is seen in organic life at large – harmony would (it is contended) result from an ever-changing adjustment and readjustment of equilibrium between the multitudes of forces and influences, and this adjustment would be the easier to obtain as none of the forces would enjoy a special protection from the State."

– Kropotkin

Send all correspondence to the Onward Collective at:

ONWARD PO BOX 2671 GAINESVILLE, FL 32602-2671 USA  
theonwardcollective@hotmail.com

★ Page 2 ★



# Shutting Down the School of the Americas

## WTO, World Bank, IMF, SOA: One Big Protest and Disempowerment Happy Family...

### - SHUT THEM DOWN!

By Ed Kinane

What, you may ask, does the SOA have to do with that dark trinity, the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank's Ploidy. SOA military repression is the flipside of the economic and environmental repression that they all impose on Latin America's poor.

These opaque, amoral, undemocratic, overwhelmingly powerful global institutions busy themselves sucking resources out of the South for the benefit of the North. Or, rather, a minute sector of the North: the banks and other corporations. They busy themselves undermining labor, destroying national self-sufficiency and sovereignty, and disrupting the planet's ecology.

The victims don't acquiesce without a gun to their head. In Latin America, as elsewhere, people resist. This makes it difficult to enforce the strings attached to IMF/World Bank loans. These strangling strings are known as structural adjustment policies (SAPs). They make a country more porous to Northern investment. Such investment means jobs in our communities where tens are exported to countries where wages are artificially kept extremely low. In Latin America, the job of those trained at the SOA is to squash the "few citizens" inevitable resistance to these SAPs.

Take Bolivia, the poorest country in South America. Its president, Hugo Banzer, is an SOA grad, and an exemplary one: his portrait hangs in the SOA Hall of Fame at Fort Benning. Back in the seventies it was Banzer who authored the Banzer Plan targeting church people. Banzer died in 1998. His successor, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, is a Marxist-Leninist, but he is the founder of the School of the Americas. In 1998 Bolivia had the third highest number of soldiers at the SOA.

In early April, 2000 Banzer declared martial law. It seems that the World Bank - as part of its SAP - is forcing Bolivia to privatize government utilities. In a secret deal a Bechtel Corporation subsidiary, seeing its chance to make big bucks, bought the water supply of Bolivia's third larg-

est city, Cochabamba. Bechtel immediately jacked up the rates. Families with monthly incomes of around \$100 saw their water bills jump to \$20 a month - more than they spent on food. And probably not much less than highly-paid World Bank bureaucrats pay for water in the suburbs of Washington, DC.

When Cochabambinos demonstrated against this extortion and theft of their water supply, a plainclothes officer, behind a line of uniformed soldiers, fired into the crowd. Victor Hugo, 17, was killed with a bullet through his face. The sniper, Captain Robinson Irujo de La Fuente, surprised surprise - took combat weapons training at the SOA.

Irujo and Banzer aren't the only SOA heavies. According to the Andean Information Center, Cochabamba's new military governor, Gen. Walter Cepede Ramallo, is also an SOA grad. He was the Commander of the Joint Task Forces (a combination of military and police forces) in the Chapare coca-growing region in 1998. During road blockades and resistance, 15 farmers were killed, others were brutally tortured and many were wounded. This February Cepede was charged by an investigative judge with negligent homicide in the death of three of these campesinos. The judge has since been receiving death threats.

The IMF/World Bank is the global loan shark. When countries can't pay back their loans fast enough, their own militaries - armed, trained and bought by the US - sequester the blood out of the stone.

(Note: For updates on the Bolivian crisis, contact [Andean.Information.Center@att.net](mailto:Andean.Information.Center@att.net) or [Jim.Shultz.in.Cochabamba.at.Zhuai@democracy.org](mailto:Jim.Shultz.in.Cochabamba.at.Zhuai@democracy.org).)

Ed Kinane is an activist based in Syracuse, NY and a member of the SOA Watch national advisory committee. He has twice gone to prison for his nonviolent protests against the School of the Americas. He can be contacted at [edkinane@aol.com](mailto:edkinane@aol.com).

By Rob Augman

November 19<sup>th</sup>, 2000 saw a continuation of the annual mass demonstration against the School of the Americas (aka School of Assassins). The demo, in its 11<sup>th</sup> year, brought 10,000<sup>+</sup> people to the base in Ft. Benning, GA. The annual demo which have mobilized people in strong numbers, have been a nonconflictual demo of dissenters who "cross the line" and literally jump into the hands of the State, for letting themselves to the SOA's Military Police.

Because of the last year's successful "anti-globalization" mass protests, showing powerful, uncompromising and innovative resistance, SOA Watch (the organizers for the annual SOA demo), had no choice but to welcome that movement to the SOA demo. While many were excited about the potential the new anti-globalization movement would bring, the movement was only welcomed to participate as autonomous affinity groups to do actions (as long as they abided by SOA Watch's "Principles of Non-Violence"), but never as the actual planning body like we have seen in the successful anti-WTO (etc.) demos. Though the energy of the younger and more tactically militant strand of the new movement was present, the demo remained stuck in the rut of non-violent civil (dis)obedience of "crossing the line" in complete cooperation with the SOA.

At 11am, around 3,600<sup>+</sup> people "crossed the line" (resulting in over 2,100<sup>+</sup> arrests) onto the base in a long, slow, funeral procession, carrying thousands of crosses and other sacred symbols inscribed with the names of victims of SOA violence in Latin America. The names were spoken loud and slowly and the thousands of crosses were raised in the air as the word "presente" was spoken like a chorus from the crowd. The front of the procession was led by dozens of "ghosts" carrying coffins, to commemorate the lives of six Jesuit priests and their two co-workers assassinated in El Salvador in 1989 by SOA graduates. It was an emotion-filled march that stayed true to the seriousness of the issue at hand.

When all those planning to cross the line had done so, the Military Police stopped the process-



photo from www.soaawc.org

sion. The "ghosts" re-enacted a massacre (and were later charged with vandalizing military property for the "blood" spilled on themselves that dropped on the street). Photos were taken of the "ghosts" faces (to enter into databases), and their "dead" bodies were loaded onto stretchers and carried away. The buses hauled them into the SOA's processing center and the march was allowed to continue. Songs were sung and crosses were made into the ground next to the street. At one point when the MP's commanded the crowd to stop planting the crosses in the ground, the crowd complied. One of the MP's, targeting a woman who ignored his commands, trampled the crosses beneath his boots as he walked towards her. Some frustrated mumbling took place but it never materialized. Greatly outnumbering the MP's and other pawns of the State, the funeral procession waited when the MP's told it to, and got on buses when the MP's told it to. Where was the resistance or even the disobedience?

Soon after, the march stopped again and the MP's got on the buses to the MP's and SOA Watch peacekeepers commands. The remaining crowd was allowed to continue on a bit more, singing songs, and stopping to use the portapotties that were waiting.

Some confusion occurred at one point as a small anti-fur group marched up the street towards the base. The crowd took notice and cheered and chanted but none left the procession. The crowd watched the militants get dragged away. They waited for other MP's to order them to stop buses.

In custody, we waited on buses. Teachers in continued on page 6



## TABD Protests End in Arrests, Beatings

By David Altman

Anarchists joined 1000-1500 others in protest against the TABD in Cincinnati, Nov. 15-18 in another victory against global capitalism and tyrannical, undemocratic institutions everywhere. The TABD has been criticized for helping to lower environmental, labor, animal, and human rights standards. This dialogue consists of over 50 of the most powerful CEOs in the world and over 110 trade officials. It has been suggested that over 50% of what the TABD decides upon is also passed by the WTO.

Friday's activities started with a pacified, "silent" march from Proctor and Gamble Pavilion in Sawyer Park to rally at Fountain Square. March organizers asked demonstrators to be quiet, take their masks, and be compliant with the police. They even used "peace police" to follow the protesters and to try and prevent people from using microphones or being disorderly. This march and rally was organized by the Cincinnati organization, Coalition for Humane Economy (CHE). They were highly criticized for allowing police to decide the march route and for pushing an agenda of "polite protest" while people die every day because of decisions that groups like the WTO or TABD make. There was a great deal of anger amongst the more militant faction of the protest, especially amongst the Revolutionary Anti-Capitalist March. In response to "TABD Does Not Spell Democracy," one Anarchist yelled out "C-H-E spells snitch motherfucker."

The rally included people from various activist groups and was highlighted by an Anarchist speaker named Waff. The speech helped bring a radical focus to a previously liberal-oriented protest. She spoke of how the "silent fringe group called the TABD" were only a symptom of the capitalist plan.

After the rally, a march back to Sawyer Park was planned and led by these protest citizens. The police and the protesters decided to re-direct the route. The police and CHE were obviously unprepared for such a move and didn't know how to react. For at least 45 minutes, this march progressed through downtown Cincinnati until the police accepted the protesters by beating, tear-gassing, and pepper-spraying protesters, the press, and others on the street. This change plan was a radical progression from CHE's plan of "passivity as a social protest." People watched



photo from www.infoshop.org

Anti-Capitalist March

up several police barricades, smashed storefront windows, spray-painted graffiti, charged police lines, "sit-arrested" protesters, returning teargas canisters, and chanted more militant chants, such as "Capitalism, no thanks, we'll burn your fucking banks!" Much of this militancy was derived from the Revolutionary Anti-Capitalist March (RACM), which sought to represent the militant and capitalist message within the overall protest. The anti-capitalist feel that globalization is only a vicious system

of a brutal disease, capitalism. The RACM ranged in numbers from 100-250 and lasted for over 45 minutes.

The RACM combined traditional protest with "black bloc" tactics. A "black bloc" is a tightly-knit group who wear their faces and dress in solid black to remain completely anonymous and work as a cohesive group. The black bloc actively fought back against police repression by throwing gas canisters and using police lines. They also used more militant tactics, such as smashing ATM's, graffiti, and smashing storefront windows.

The black bloc has been criticized for these militant tactics and the property destruction. Participants feel that the property destruction is justified and important because capitalists bet property before people. Anti-capitalists also argue that private property is different from personal possessions. They say that any objects gained out of exploiting others or used to exploit others are property. Anti-capitalists feel that private property is theft and that the destruction of private property is only the destruction of the tools used to destroy communities, promote racism, treat workers, poison the environment, and ruin the world.

Saturday started with "pit" protesters, a civil march of SOA, until police ordered people to disperse in groups of 4. Police arrested several and harassed many. At 4 pm, the "Don't Beat Me" rally against police brutality to the jail was disrupted with police beatings and teargas. The march was in response to two recent murders of Black men in Cincinnati by police. Police brutality and repression was rampant on Saturday. People were randomly stopped, harassed and searched. Police arrested 41 people on Saturday for various charges and set bails as high as \$40,000. For the capitalist press, police stated this "crackdown" was preventative measures used by the police to protect a renewal of the property destruction and militancy of the protests the day before. It made for a perfect example of how the police are used as a tool of the status quo to oppress working and poor people.

A legal fund has been set up to assist those arrested. Funds can be sent to N16 Legal, 2352 Wheeler, Cincinnati Ohio 45219.

David can be reached at nation, of, new@yahoo.com

# Fighting for Mumia Abu-Jamal: Compelling New Evidence Released by Supporters — and Rejected by Judge

By Teishan Latner

Organizers fighting for a new trial for incarcerated African-American journalist and author Mumia Abu-Jamal are armed with significant new evidence in his favor with the recent filing of four Amicus Curiae legal briefs by members of the British Panther, the NAACP and other civil and human rights groups. Submitted to a Federal District Court in Pennsylvania, the Briefs have been recognized by activists as some of the most compelling compilations of evidence yet presented in Abu-Jamal's defense.

The briefs raise issues of Constitutional, legal and ethical violations of Abu-Jamal's rights during his 1982 trial in Philadelphia and call for an immediate new trial or the overturning of his death sentence. Observers once hoped that Federal District Court Judge William Yohn might allow vital new evidence like that prepared in the briefs to be considered in upcoming court hearings. That hope was crushed on August 7, 2006, when he unceremoniously rejected all four Amicus Curiae legal briefs filed on Abu-Jamal's behalf as "unnecessary" and "unhelpful."

Abu-Jamal, an award-winning journalist and former Black Panther and community organizer was convicted of the killing of a Philadelphia police officer in 1981. The trial has been widely condemned as a political railroad by human rights organizations and prominent political and cultural figures world-wide because of police coercion of witnesses, denial of Abu-Jamal's legal rights, false police testimony, inadequate legal defense, and faulty ballistics evidence.

Together, the Amicus Briefs are a broad-based display of support for Abu-Jamal. One is filed by 22 members of the British Parliament, another by the NAACP and ACLU, and a third is filed jointly by six groups including the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the National Lawyers Guild. The most recent is filed by the For Chican@s/Chicano Studies Foundation in Los Angeles. The briefs demand a new trial for Abu-Jamal and raise points like the denial of Abu-Jamal's Constitutional right to self-representation, the unconstitutional use of Abu-Jamal's Black Panther Party history in arguing for the death penalty, and the striking of Black jurors on preemptory challenges.

Judge Yohn's rejection of the Amicus Briefs—"friends of the court," which are standard submissions in many criminal cases—has left activists wondering how submissions from so many well-known organizations could be so flatly rejected. "It is virtually unheard of for judges to throw out Amicus Briefs," said Chicago attorney Marlene Kanish, one of the authors of the brief filed by the For Chican@s/Chicano Studies Foundation.

Abu-Jamal is calling the four briefs "history lessons about fundamental human rights that were violated by the state with impunity." The International

Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal—the Philadelphia-based group which is the primary and original organization fighting for a new trial or amnesty—are urging others to read the Briefs to enhance their understanding of his case.

While all of the recently filed Amicus briefs are considered critical contributions to Abu-Jamal's case, the brief filed by the For Chican@s/Chicano Studies Foundation managed to illuminate a facet of the now-infamous 1982 trial that surprised even Abu-Jamal when he read it. Although the brief's documentation of the denial of Abu-Jamal's Constitutional right to self-representation and right to layperson counsel appears incriminating enough for Abu-Jamal's jailers, the brief does something new entirely: it exposes a closed-session meeting between the prosecutor and judge during the 1982 trial, and a third person not previously considered to play an active role in Abu-Jamal's conviction—Abu-Jamal's own attorney.

The meeting between prosecutor, judge and defense attorney focused on how to prevent Abu-Jamal's conviction from being thrown out on appeal if he refused to cooperate with the court-appointed lawyer during the trial. The Brief shows how the three men actually conspired to insulate Abu-Jamal's case against appeal and strengthen the prosecution's chances of obtaining a conviction. The meeting helped seal the dismissal of Abu-Jamal's attempts at self representation, a rights which he had requested in light of his ill-prepared defense attorney, who had failed to interview a single defense witness and admitted that he had no defense strategy.

The US supreme court has consistently ruled that in cases where a defendant's right to self-representation is denied, the conviction must be overturned. Abu-Jamal and core activists are keenly aware of this precedent and are emphasizing this point as they seek to build even broader support for a new and fair trial. "Denial of petitioner Mumia Abu-Jamal's farreaching right of self-representation mandates that a new trial be granted," states the Amicus Brief filed by the For Chican@s/Chicano Studies Foundation.

Judge Yohn's rejection of the briefs filed by the members of the British Parliament and the For Chican@s/Chicano Studies Foundation is currently being appealed. The International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal is calling on organizations and individuals to contact them and endorse the brief filed by the For Chican@s/Chicano Studies Foundation as part of the appeal process. Individuals are being urged to read all of the briefs to further educate themselves about Abu-Jamal's case. The Briefs are available on-line at [www.mumia.org](http://www.mumia.org). Hard copies are available from the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal; POB 19709, Philadelphia, PA 19143. Phone: 215-476-5416. E-mail: [icffmj@aol.com](mailto:icffmj@aol.com)

## Earth First! Takes Direct Action Against Cement Plant

By Jimmy Fishhawk

On Sunday, October 22, four activists from Ichetucknee Earth First! locked down inside a disabled travel trailer to block the main access road to a limebrick quarry operated by the Suwannee American cement company in rural Suwannee County, FL. This action was to launch a direct action campaign to stop Suwannee American's construction of a lime-burning cement kiln near the quarry. SA is a subsidiary of Anderson Columbia, a regional conglomerate involved in the concrete, limebrick, and road-building industries and also Florida's most notorious corporate polluter. SA's proposed kiln would burn coal and 52 tons of rubber tires per hour, dropping pollutants almost directly onto the source of the pristine, spring-fed Ichetucknee River and its confluence with the nearby Santa Fe River. These rivers and the springs that feed them form the base of the North Central Florida ecosystem, and provide habitat for an incredible array of already-threatened and endangered species, wild life, as well as drinking, irrigation, and recreational waters for a growing multitude of humans. The lockdown blocked a road leading to the "hatch plant," the first step in the construction of the larger plant.

If built, this plant will be the second one constructed in North Central Florida in recent years. The first, a plant located in nearby Alachua County owned and operated by Florida Rock Industries, was the first plant of its kind constructed in the US in fifteen years, due to a moratorium on this heavy-polluting industry. It officially opened for business on April 13<sup>th</sup> of this year, and its corporate owners are already in trouble for poor environmental practices. The FBI plant also faced heavy opposition from local citizens, including lawsuits, citizen-initiated campaign—a committed crew willing to put their bodies on the line to stop the company's activi-

ties and foil the cops, a support crew, some well-put-together equipment, and an element of almost total surprise. But when things started happening, we realized what was lacking: numbers. The element of surprise began during a decoy event—a picnic in a park near the action site. This event did not actually happen. People who showed up in the vicinity of the supposed picnic site were redirected up the road to the action. As it turned out, few even tried to attend the picnic and most that made it to the site and stayed were part of the grassroots activist community the lockdown crew came from. Members of the Ichetucknee Mobilization, Gainesville Food Not Bombs, the Green Party, Southeast Friends of Reclaiming, and other groups showed up, some having seen the press release issued about the action that morning, others going on rumors and hunches that "something big" was being done. However, there were not more than 10 or 20 people at the action site at any given time throughout the day. Few media people showed up; one TV camera, a reporter and photographer

from a University of Florida student paper, a reporter for a pagan newsletter, and of course the several ONWARD crew.

The Suwannee County Sheriff's visited the site several times during the day, serving notice of trespassing and demanding the lockdown be removed. Their requests were denied. As dusk, they showed up with paramedics and firefighters, entered the trailer, cut the locks and handcuffed the three druggies, and used our friends off to jail in plastic zip-cuffs. As the Sheriff's visits became more assertive and we realized they were going to make every effort to remove the blockade before the start of the work week Monday morning, we began to feel isolated and weak, with only a handful left at the site we organized "well" Blockaders willing to risk arrest to keep the work out of the trailer, and an overwhelmed and under-prepared police liaison team. By the time the arrests occurred, we also had a growing mob of pissed-off pre-cement plant locals to contend with. Between them and the cops and firefighters employing intimidation and threats against those



## POW/PPs Urge Mobilization to Save Mumia!

We are Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners (POW/PPs) within the United States. We were variously imprisoned for a range of activities: struggle against white supremacy and colonialism, opposition to the economics of global plunder and class exploitation, efforts against sexism and discrimination, a general unwillingness to abide the multiple ways human beings are demeaned and delimited in this society. We stand for self-determination for all oppressed peoples, for an end to racism, for women's liberation (equality), for economic centered on human need rather than corporate greed.

The reason for this unprecedented collective statement is the urgent situation of fellow political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal on death row in Pennsylvania. His legal challenge has now moved to the federal courts, the final arena available to him, and these proceedings could be completed within months. While there is overwhelming evidence of his innocence, most of it has been excluded from judicial review. Many of you who have worked hard to save Mumia's life are to be commended. Without your hard work, the state probably would have already executed him, but we need to alert you to the urgency of the situation. A measure of importance of this case can be taken from the recent "big lie" standers of Mumia by ABC's "20/20" on TV and by Vanity Fair magazine. The Fraternal Order of Police, the reactionary criminal justice system and the corporate media are determined to execute this articulate and courageous brother. He will take a very determined and strong movement to stop the plans for cold-blooded murder.

The urgency is not just because a precious life is at stake, but also because of the implications for political and social movements. Mumia has been a singularly eloquent and effective voice of the voiceless. He has spoken and written powerfully for more than 3,000 years on death row within the US about the fundamental flaws of the criminal justice system, on the foundations of racism and injustice. We want to encourage the fringe of activists and social justice groups to make Mumia's case their lead project, their key example, in the coming months. Such a focus would not at all mean abandoning broader politics and programs. Mumia's case can powerfully illustrate the general issues of the death penalty, of POW/PPs, of the criminal justice system and of racism and injustice. He can personally these crucial concerns and help energize each area of work. We call upon all people who care about life and social justice to mobilize for Mumia.

Frea Mumia! End the Death Penalty!  
Signed: Herman Bell, David Gilbert, Abdul Majid, Bill Dwyer, Jihad Abdul Mawla, Marilyn Buck, Dr. Mumia Shaker, Jean Leaman, Tom Manning, Richard Williams, Ray Lee Levanon, Tom Linda Evans, Edward Africa, Sandia Acoli, Chuckie Africa, Teddy Loh Hsueh, Phil Africa, Jerry Giddings, Robert Seli Hays, Russell Marrow Shotts, Jr. Khamara, Janine Africa, Janet Africa, Debbie Africa, Juan Segura Palmer, Oscar Lopez-Rivera, Jullie Manning, Leonard Pelletier, Veronika Bowers, Nell Washington (RIP) (From booklet of PPOPPW Writings compiled by Resistance N Brooklyn and the Jericho Movement. Contact RB at [mmunsub@ig.org](mailto:mmunsub@ig.org) for info.)

locked-down, some almost fell for the supervising, Sheriff's Good Cop routine. He talked smooth, quiet and even kind jokes while he was dealing with those outside of the trailer, and showed his true colors with a stream of insults and threats to the passive resistors inside the trailer, out of our sight. One woman from the police liaison team stayed inside to film the removal of the lockdown devices, but ran out of tape and was unable to document some of the most obnoxious piggy behavior.

Those who organized this action did good "anti-mass" affinity group organizing. They practiced more than adequate security culture while preparing for the action. In fact, they put these essential organizational elements together so tight they backfired. The organizers focused so much on getting the blockade in place that they neglected to organize the follow-up needed to defend themselves. What we needed was a mass of prepared, militant defenders who could pat themselves in between the cops and the trailer and

continued on page 8



# U'wa...

continued from page 1

Police holding back in terms of kidnappings, torture, or execution of civilians. The Colombian government's security apparatus is among the world's worst violators of human rights (worse than any regime bombed by the US in recent history), though the guerrilla ELN and FARC, denying foreign exploitation of Colombian resources, continue their campaign of sabotage.

This challenge to American business interests is taken seriously in Washington, and under the mantle of the War on Drugs, the U'wa has committed a \$1.3 billion military aid package to help the Colombian government "test peace."

While profits don't suffer — last year the company boasted \$448 million net worldwide, \$31 million from Colombia and Ecuador — local populations do. Rather than helping end the violence, Occidental is part of it. According to Human Rights Watch, "a consortium composed of Occidental Petroleum, Royal Dutch/Shell, and the national oil company, ECPETROL, took no action to address reports of extrajudicial executions and a massacre committed by the state forces assigned to protect the consortium's facilities." To these "peacekeepers," the company paid \$2 million in cash and equipment in 1996, offering helicopters, troop transport vehicles, and money earmarked for "a network of informants."

Also under attack is the fragile environment of the area, which borders two national parks, home to hundreds of rare species of flora and fauna. As early as 1988, Colombia's Institute of Natural Resources (INDERENA) warned that at Oxy's Cello Lirio operation "a management plan for toxic muds is entirely absent." The company has repeatedly violates basic guidelines for waste and water treatment, resulting in dangerously high concentrations of heavy metals and toxic polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs), according to an INDERENA 1992 study.

## Oil and the Machine

The translation has tried many approaches since 1988 to sweeten the U'wa on transacting their homeland into an offgrid. They established scholarship funds for U'wa students, promised health and educational programs for the tribe and offered better prices for the land. When that didn't work, they attempted to circumvent the tribe's decision-making process by negotiating with individual U'wa (a trick taken from US-Native American history).

Occidental claims the U'wa signed a contract in 1995 agreeing to oil exploration on their land. The U'wa, who cannot read, say they were told they were signing an attendance sheet. Following that meeting, the U'wa representatives returned to report to their leaders: the Association of Cabillos and the Traditional Authority. Although all parties had agreed to fore judgment

until another meeting in February, the Ministry of Environment proceeded to grant Occidental license for exploration.

Learners of the license, the U'wa boycotted the second meeting. Since, the U'wa have repeatedly and unequivocally opposed drilling. In 1993, they filed for official recognition of a larger portion of their traditional lands (still short of what they consider theirs). This Single United Reservation (Unico Resguardo) has been a prerequisite to any negotiation over use of their land.

Occidental has shown little interest in U'wa demands, insisting since 1993 that rebel forces have persuaded the tribe to be intransigent. In fact, Oxy Colombia CEO Steve Newton called the U'wa territory the "house of Perez," a reference to the ELN, a malicious accusation in a region where mere suspicion of collaborating with the



The U'wa tribe in their homeland

rebels is grounds for execution or attack by the military and paramilitary.

In 1995, with the Ministry of Environment legitimizing corporate liability, the U'wa went to the Colombian courts, alleging insufficient consultation and seeking to revoke the Oxy permit. Exploitation of the region violates the Colombian Constitution's provisions for tribal sovereignty, including claims to sub-surface resources. Although the Superior court found in the tribe's favor, the Supreme Court overturned it. When the higher Constitutional Court overturned that decision in 1997, ruling a new consultation be held, the Council of State nullified its ruling. In the end, the lure of profits overruled the Colombian constitution and the state ruled predictably: drilling would proceed.

A month later in Bogota, 3000 students, workers and environmentalists marched on the Ministry of the environment to support the U'wa and protest Oxy's exploitation of the region.

## Global Village

In June, 1997, hooded gunmen jumped U'wa traditional leader Bertio Kiward U'wa and demanded he sign the "convenio" (agreement) they were carrying. Since he cannot read, no one knows what it contained, but he was beaten severely for refusing: it was likely a consent for Oxy to begin drilling on U'wa land. The next day, the U'wa struggle went international with the formation of the U'wa Defense Working Group. Formed by a coalition of environmental and human rights groups, the UDWG scored its first victory following a phone and letter-writing campaign when Shell announced its desire to withdraw from the region, citing public relations concerns. But Occidental continued preparing to drill, so in September of 1998 the U'wa began a nonviolent blockade of the road to the proposed drilling site.

5,000 heavily armed troops including tanks and artillery. A month later, they again attacked, this time killing three children. The Clinton/Gore presidency meanwhile prepared to reward Colombian rulers with \$1.3 billion in military aid, even while admitting the police and armed forces are "responsible for widespread human rights abuse."

## Solidarity is Strength

In the US, solidarity actions have increased over the last year, with lockdowns at Gore campaign headquarters, banner drops, and pickets outside the offices of Occidental and Fidelity Investments (a major investor in Oxy stock). Dozens of actions across the US brought uncomfortable attention on Gore's ties to big oil, the "environmentalist" candidate has refused to comment publicly.

Now that drilling has begun in the cloudforest, mainstream media has dropped its already scant coverage of the U'wa struggle. News of the campaign has not even reached most progressives in the US, who remain ignorant of this mountain community's work for self-determination and environmental integrity. In spite of the displacement of an estimated 2 million Colombians, many activists seem non-plussed by the civil war: since the rebels also profit from drugs and are responsible for brutalities, perhaps activists fear being seen as apologists for the drug trade.

However, north americans should remember that US businesses have played a massive role in dismantling Colombia's economy. The drug trade itself is a direct consequence of globalized US agricultural and food companies imported cheap foods that drove local farmers out of business. Looking for an alternative income source, Colombian farmers turned to a product with which there was no US competitor: cocaine. Along with the Colombian government's refusal to address intense economic inequality, this led to further destabilization of the country's economy, which encouraged further US intervention.

The US "defense" industry is booming in what the State department calls Colombia's "transition to unrestricted access market." Law enforcement and the prison industrial complex here benefit from increased circulation of drugs in the US: weapons manufacturers and the US military profits from the civil war in Colombia. Making money from every facet of human misery is a tenet of globalization, and we surely make US policy-makers extremely happy.

## Organizing against Occidental

Nonviolent actions in North America and Europe have dramatized the U'wa's plight and pressured Occidental to withdraw from U'wa land. A contested drive against Fidelity Investments (formerly the largest shareholder in Occidental) utilizing mass demonstrations at over 75 Fidelity offices and non-violent occupations of Fidelity investor centers, forced Fidelity to dump 18 million shares of Oxy stock, approximately 60% of their holdings worth over \$412 million.

continued on page 9

# Mercury Newspaper Carrier Wildcat Strike Ends in Improvement

By Adam Welch

SAN JOSE, CA: The week long dispute between the carriers delivering the San Jose Mercury News and newspaper management ended early morning Thursday, October 13 in a partial victory for the nearly 600 of the 1,100 carriers employed by the newspaper. The strike action was assisted by local wobblies and members of Students For Justice' student group.

The carriers, almost entirely Vietnamese immigrants, were taking part in a wildcat strike protesting low wages and unfair work rules. The settlement, reached around 3 AM, granted the workers a 12% raise, eliminated carriers collecting bills door to door on their own time for new customers and an agreement to rehire four workers that had been fired. This has not ruled out any potential future strikes, as the carriers are still angry over several unmet demands.

The demands of the strike action were a 20% increase in wages, to compensate for higher gas prices and rent, an end to long wait to pick up the paper, not having to collect bills from unpaid customers and not having to purchase the rubber bands and plastic bags used to assemble the paper. The carriers are also paid per piece work.

Duan Nguyen, a strike leader at the North Valley distribution station in East San Jose, said that the strike started at the Fremont station, a nearby suburb of San Jose, and spread spontaneously as other carriers heard about the strike on a local Vietnamese radio talk show. He recalled asking the other workers to join the work stoppage in Monday October 9, saying, "I told the other workers 'don't go to work, we need this one.' Himself and other station leaders got 100% of the North Valley Station carriers to sign a letter with demands to Mercury News Publisher Jay Harris. There are several different stations where the paper is distributed.

papers into their cars. The first night, SW Phuong Ly and myself spent several hours talking and hanging out with the workers in each shift. Basically we found out there are several leaders at each station that communicate over cell phone to the leaders at the other station. The main and largest station is the Campbell station where the main leaders are based. The workers stuck together well, but lacked a plan to support the strike, such as talking with or picketing the scabbing workers.

The second night we returned to bring local students, some food and many picket signs, including IWW ones. We also talked to local TV media. The workers were grateful for the support and some began picking up the signs and marching around. Just as it seemed the strikers were going to start a picket line, a call came in



The newspaper carrier strike

from the Campbell station and a deal had been made.

## CARRIERS AND UNIONS

Currently the carriers are still not part of any union. From our talks they know the importance of joining a union, but have had some difficulty. There are several reasons around this, first the carriers being independent contractors which technically makes them ineligible for NLRB rights (though this could be easily challenged), second there is a jurisdictional dispute going on. The IUPCW (United Food and Commercial Workers) has Vietnamese speaking organizers, but apparently won't organize them because of the independent contractor situation. The Newspaper Guild, affiliated to CWA (Communication Workers of America), which many of the Mercury News workers are members of, also has been lagging its feet for some reasons, but mostly because the managers and supervisors of the carriers at the distribution and production plants are Teamsters and if the carriers became recognized their bargaining unit would be cancelled apparently.

The SJ Labor Council wants to organize a meeting of the unions that have been involved in the "wildcat" and "SW Phuong Ly and myself have been invited by the Newspaper Guild. The inside word and impression that we have been getting is that because of the situation with the Teamsters and the fact that the carriers have taken independent action makes the local unions sketched to organize with them. We are still trying to maintain contact with the carriers we met and reach the Campbell leadership and talk with them further. Being that the other unions are more interested in not stepping on the toes of the status quo than supporting the carriers actions, this could be a fertile ground for IWW involvement.

Adam Welch is an IWW member and part of the De Anza community college Students for Justice chapter, a regional diverse and "radical" student group in the SF Bay Area. Contact: adam.freedom@yahoo.com

## NEWS BRIEFS

### FBI Arrests Animal Rights Activist

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH — Jeremy Parkin, dedicated animal rights activist, was booked into the Salt Lake County Adult Detention Complex on charges of 3 counts of Felony theft, 1 count of Felony Criminal Mischief, and 1 count of Felony Burglary.

On November 24, as animal rights groups protested around the nation as a part of Fur Free Friday, Parkin's home was swarmed by 14 FBI Agents and local Sheriff's Deputies. In a surprising demonstration of militaristic force, they closed off his entire residential street to apprehend him.

The charges Parkin is faces relate to his work as an activist, but how exactly is not yet known. Parkin's mother commented to friends that the charges are related to a protest at a fur farm last November which resulted in an unknown number of mink being released, as well as breeding cards for the animals destroyed. She also stated that the FBI mentioned an act of economic sabotage claimed by the Animal Liberation Front in San Francisco, resulting in over \$30,000 worth of damage to me due to the storefront.

"How do we ever expect things to change unless we are willing to face the oppression and lay down our lives?" He asked friends just weeks earlier. "Everything short of this is a compromise, and every time we compromise we give them control."

Contact the Free Jeremy Collective:  
http://FreeJeremy.usarc.com or  
freejeremyparkin@hotmail.com  
For media interviews, contact (801) 918-0674

### Hundreds March for Peltier's Freedom

On Dec. 10th, International Human Rights Day, between 700-1,000 people marched in Minneapolis' sub-zero temperatures to support the American Indian Movement's push for the release of Leonard Peltier.

Activists of all stripes - Indigenous people, Anarchists, environmentalists, African American leaders, Chicano, Zen Buddhists, Earth First, IWW - marched with AIM as the finale of a week long of activities in Minneapolis as President Clinton stilled his decision of clemency for Peltier.

When Nelson Mandela spoke to the NAACP in Miss. Clyde Bellecourt attended and reminded Nelson of his commitment to speak with Clinton about Peltier. Beginning on Dec. 3rd AIM and community members conducted a four-day prayer vigil led by spiritual Lakota elder Harry Charger. The participants stayed outside in Teepees for 4 days and conducted Sweat Lodge ceremonies. There were two one-hour sit-ins on Public Radio on two nights. The first by Vernon Bellecourt the second by Clyde. On Friday night people participated in a pipe ceremony led by Harry Charger to pray before the march on Sunday. He

spoke that night that Leonard's struggle began long ago when the first Native people ever confronted European aggression. The week ended with the mass rally and march to the Basilica (Catholic Cathedral), an appropriate ending point.

Led by Harry Charger, AIM leaders, and a traditional drum group and singers, the march went through many poverty stricken areas along the route. Clyde Bellecourt and others carried Bull Horns chanting "Free Peltier" the entire route. Vernon Bellecourt traveled the entire route in a wheel chair. AIM patrol (the original Cop Watch since 1968) did security on the march.

At the end of the rally Charger, Dave Dellinger, the Bellecourts, and others gave inspiring speeches. Vernon Bellecourt urged for people to visit the AIM Movement.org. Ministry of Information section of the site, under the heading the US War Against AIM for more information about the past and current War against the American Indian Movement. It was an inspiring march. Free Peltier!!!!

Call the White House 202-456-1111 and demand clemency for Peltier.

By Dan Berger

Gainesville, Florida has a long tradition of both racism and resistance. The University of Florida is not known for its impressive race relations. Black students and community members had to fight to integrate into the school. African and African American study courses, now highly respected, as well as the right to have political and cultural organizations. These struggles continue today at UF, just as they continue throughout the world, but there is hope.

More recently, the UF administration has shown its concerns for nonwhites, non-males and the poor in one fell swoop by establishing the night shift for the custodial staff, a staff that is 90% black, 61% female and have a starting salary less than \$12,800 a year (less than minimum wage after taxes). In November, 1998, UF moved 40 custodians from the day shift (5am to 1:30pm) to nights (11pm to 7:30am) as part of a 'pilot project' to be studied to prove the efficiency of the shift, even though the plan failed the first time tried, 20 years prior. The plan was enacted in order to create, what administrators called a more 'transparent' custodial staff. Late spring of 2000, though the pilot project had never been studied, the UF administration began talking about moving 80% of the whole custodial staff to nights.

Though never asking what other the workers or 'customers' (students, staff, faculty and visitors to the university) wanted, the administration claimed that the night shift, and a more 'transparent' custodial staff, is what people want. On August 13<sup>th</sup>, while most students and many faculty and community members were away on winter break, 34 more custodians were moved to nights. After months of struggle, however, UF announced in mid-October that the night shift would be abandoned.

As soon as UF began talking of moving 80% of the custodial staff, there was dissent. The Alachua County NAACP called UF on their rac-

ism and the custodial workers' union (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1340, AFSCME) along with the Alachua County Labor Party began gathering signatures on petitions. Flyers were distributed urging people to write or call the administrators expressing their concern. Community discussion events with AFSCME and custodial workers took place, and letters and articles flooded local papers. AFSCME organized a large rally on the steps of the administration building on August 18<sup>th</sup>.

On August 18<sup>th</sup>, the night shift was not implemented. In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

At the first meeting, October 2<sup>nd</sup>, night shift opponents filled the room. All wearing anti-night shift buttons and holding signs. One of the most visually impressive tools was a banner of petitions that took up two full walls of the room, surrounding the committee. The first committee meeting featured Dug Jones (that really is how he spells his first name), former Assistant Physical Plant Director, vice racist and mouthpiece for the night shift, giving a timeline of events, while custodial workers and other members of the committee called him on his lies, to the extent that the chair of the committee allowed it. No one in the audience was allowed to speak, and no reason was given as to why Jones, who had led UF a month previously over pressure of the night shift, was allowed to give a presentation.

At the second committee meeting on October 9<sup>th</sup>, Dug Jones was not there and a real discussion was able to take place. Various members of the committee attacked David O'Brien, asking him if any study was done to prove the effectiveness of the night shift, who, in response, admitted to

When the cast of MTV's "The Real World" came and spoke on campus, activists were there talking about the real world at the University of Florida: racism and class exploitation. A week after lecturing on the need to "attack racism on the front," former UF president John Lombardi was embarrassed at a talk, when four activists questioned him on the night shift, which he began under his administration. Whether administrators were speaking at student assemblies or award ceremonies, activists were there at least passing out flyers and talking to people about the issue. Visibility was further increased through t-shirts, buttons and graffiti seen throughout town.

In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

At the first meeting, October 2<sup>nd</sup>, night shift opponents filled the room. All wearing anti-night shift buttons and holding signs. One of the most visually impressive tools was a banner of petitions that took up two full walls of the room, surrounding the committee. The first committee meeting featured Dug Jones (that really is how he spells his first name), former Assistant Physical Plant Director, vice racist and mouthpiece for the night shift, giving a timeline of events, while custodial workers and other members of the committee called him on his lies, to the extent that the chair of the committee allowed it. No one in the audience was allowed to speak, and no reason was given as to why Jones, who had led UF a month previously over pressure of the night shift, was allowed to give a presentation.

At the second committee meeting on October 9<sup>th</sup>, Dug Jones was not there and a real discussion was able to take place. Various members of the committee attacked David O'Brien, asking him if any study was done to prove the effectiveness of the night shift, who, in response, admitted to

continued on page 8



Photo by Mark Patterson

Night Shift opponents crammed meetings with a banner made of petitions

On August 13<sup>th</sup>, the night shift was not implemented. In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

At the first meeting, October 2<sup>nd</sup>, night shift opponents filled the room. All wearing anti-night shift buttons and holding signs. One of the most visually impressive tools was a banner of petitions that took up two full walls of the room, surrounding the committee. The first committee meeting featured Dug Jones (that really is how he spells his first name), former Assistant Physical Plant Director, vice racist and mouthpiece for the night shift, giving a timeline of events, while custodial workers and other members of the committee called him on his lies, to the extent that the chair of the committee allowed it. No one in the audience was allowed to speak, and no reason was given as to why Jones, who had led UF a month previously over pressure of the night shift, was allowed to give a presentation.

At the second committee meeting on October 9<sup>th</sup>, Dug Jones was not there and a real discussion was able to take place. Various members of the committee attacked David O'Brien, asking him if any study was done to prove the effectiveness of the night shift, who, in response, admitted to

When the cast of MTV's "The Real World" came and spoke on campus, activists were there talking about the real world at the University of Florida: racism and class exploitation. A week after lecturing on the need to "attack racism on the front," former UF president John Lombardi was embarrassed at a talk, when four activists questioned him on the night shift, which he began under his administration. Whether administrators were speaking at student assemblies or award ceremonies, activists were there at least passing out flyers and talking to people about the issue. Visibility was further increased through t-shirts, buttons and graffiti seen throughout town.

In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

At the first meeting, October 2<sup>nd</sup>, night shift opponents filled the room. All wearing anti-night shift buttons and holding signs. One of the most visually impressive tools was a banner of petitions that took up two full walls of the room, surrounding the committee. The first committee meeting featured Dug Jones (that really is how he spells his first name), former Assistant Physical Plant Director, vice racist and mouthpiece for the night shift, giving a timeline of events, while custodial workers and other members of the committee called him on his lies, to the extent that the chair of the committee allowed it. No one in the audience was allowed to speak, and no reason was given as to why Jones, who had led UF a month previously over pressure of the night shift, was allowed to give a presentation.

At the second committee meeting on October 9<sup>th</sup>, Dug Jones was not there and a real discussion was able to take place. Various members of the committee attacked David O'Brien, asking him if any study was done to prove the effectiveness of the night shift, who, in response, admitted to

When the cast of MTV's "The Real World" came and spoke on campus, activists were there talking about the real world at the University of Florida: racism and class exploitation. A week after lecturing on the need to "attack racism on the front," former UF president John Lombardi was embarrassed at a talk, when four activists questioned him on the night shift, which he began under his administration. Whether administrators were speaking at student assemblies or award ceremonies, activists were there at least passing out flyers and talking to people about the issue. Visibility was further increased through t-shirts, buttons and graffiti seen throughout town.

In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

At the first meeting, October 2<sup>nd</sup>, night shift opponents filled the room. All wearing anti-night shift buttons and holding signs. One of the most visually impressive tools was a banner of petitions that took up two full walls of the room, surrounding the committee. The first committee meeting featured Dug Jones (that really is how he spells his first name), former Assistant Physical Plant Director, vice racist and mouthpiece for the night shift, giving a timeline of events, while custodial workers and other members of the committee called him on his lies, to the extent that the chair of the committee allowed it. No one in the audience was allowed to speak, and no reason was given as to why Jones, who had led UF a month previously over pressure of the night shift, was allowed to give a presentation.

At the second committee meeting on October 9<sup>th</sup>, Dug Jones was not there and a real discussion was able to take place. Various members of the committee attacked David O'Brien, asking him if any study was done to prove the effectiveness of the night shift, who, in response, admitted to

When the cast of MTV's "The Real World" came and spoke on campus, activists were there talking about the real world at the University of Florida: racism and class exploitation. A week after lecturing on the need to "attack racism on the front," former UF president John Lombardi was embarrassed at a talk, when four activists questioned him on the night shift, which he began under his administration. Whether administrators were speaking at student assemblies or award ceremonies, activists were there at least passing out flyers and talking to people about the issue. Visibility was further increased through t-shirts, buttons and graffiti seen throughout town.

ment such a success is that people exercise real power. From the bottom-up, in the streets, and make a real affect. The anti-globalization movement has organized us out of our

into affinity groups, clusters, and spokes-councils where we take part in changing the face of a city by working cooperatively.

In SOA demos we follow orders from SOA. Watch "Peace Keepers," police, and MPs. We march in obedient lines to work zones that we know are waiting for us. We walk to the buses, get on, and get processed. We're on time. The State processes us and we go home.

Contrary to anti-globalization protests where successes are made by innovation, coalition building, collective action and militancy are counted not just in numbers but in effectiveness, education and empowerment. The SOA demo measure success purely in numbers. But our movement needs to be not only big, but empowering and educational to participants, and threatening to oppressive institutions.

The incredible aspects of the anti-globalization movement must be brought to the anti-SOA movement, working together to further our opposition to the SOA, and other institutions of oppression and make real changes.

\*Numbers are provided by SOA Watch. For more information on the SOA demos, check out SOA Watch's website: www.soa.org. For articles about this year's SOA demo, visit: www.attainia.indymedia.org.

A Cuban Agency of the Onward Collective, a community organizer, and co-ordinator of the Civic Media Center (www.gated-net.com) a non-profit reading room and library of the non-corporate press, in Gainesville, FL. Write him at mveot@hotmail.com or cto this newspaper.

When the cast of MTV's "The Real World" came and spoke on campus, activists were there talking about the real world at the University of Florida: racism and class exploitation. A week after lecturing on the need to "attack racism on the front," former UF president John Lombardi was embarrassed at a talk, when four activists questioned him on the night shift, which he began under his administration. Whether administrators were speaking at student assemblies or award ceremonies, activists were there at least passing out flyers and talking to people about the issue. Visibility was further increased through t-shirts, buttons and graffiti seen throughout town.

In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

ment such a success is that people exercise real power. From the bottom-up, in the streets, and make a real affect. The anti-globalization movement has organized us out of our

into affinity groups, clusters, and spokes-councils where we take part in changing the face of a city by working cooperatively.

In SOA demos we follow orders from SOA. Watch "Peace Keepers," police, and MPs. We march in obedient lines to work zones that we know are waiting for us. We walk to the buses, get on, and get processed. We're on time. The State processes us and we go home.

Contrary to anti-globalization protests where successes are made by innovation, coalition building, collective action and militancy are counted not just in numbers but in effectiveness, education and empowerment. The SOA demo measure success purely in numbers. But our movement needs to be not only big, but empowering and educational to participants, and threatening to oppressive institutions.

The incredible aspects of the anti-globalization movement must be brought to the anti-SOA movement, working together to further our opposition to the SOA, and other institutions of oppression and make real changes.

\*Numbers are provided by SOA Watch. For more information on the SOA demos, check out SOA Watch's website: www.soa.org. For articles about this year's SOA demo, visit: www.attainia.indymedia.org.

A Cuban Agency of the Onward Collective, a community organizer, and co-ordinator of the Civic Media Center (www.gated-net.com) a non-profit reading room and library of the non-corporate press, in Gainesville, FL. Write him at mveot@hotmail.com or cto this newspaper.

When the cast of MTV's "The Real World" came and spoke on campus, activists were there talking about the real world at the University of Florida: racism and class exploitation. A week after lecturing on the need to "attack racism on the front," former UF president John Lombardi was embarrassed at a talk, when four activists questioned him on the night shift, which he began under his administration. Whether administrators were speaking at student assemblies or award ceremonies, activists were there at least passing out flyers and talking to people about the issue. Visibility was further increased through t-shirts, buttons and graffiti seen throughout town.

In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

ment such a success is that people exercise real power. From the bottom-up, in the streets, and make a real affect. The anti-globalization movement has organized us out of our

into affinity groups, clusters, and spokes-councils where we take part in changing the face of a city by working cooperatively.

In SOA demos we follow orders from SOA. Watch "Peace Keepers," police, and MPs. We march in obedient lines to work zones that we know are waiting for us. We walk to the buses, get on, and get processed. We're on time. The State processes us and we go home.

Contrary to anti-globalization protests where successes are made by innovation, coalition building, collective action and militancy are counted not just in numbers but in effectiveness, education and empowerment. The SOA demo measure success purely in numbers. But our movement needs to be not only big, but empowering and educational to participants, and threatening to oppressive institutions.

The incredible aspects of the anti-globalization movement must be brought to the anti-SOA movement, working together to further our opposition to the SOA, and other institutions of oppression and make real changes.

\*Numbers are provided by SOA Watch. For more information on the SOA demos, check out SOA Watch's website: www.soa.org. For articles about this year's SOA demo, visit: www.attainia.indymedia.org.

A Cuban Agency of the Onward Collective, a community organizer, and co-ordinator of the Civic Media Center (www.gated-net.com) a non-profit reading room and library of the non-corporate press, in Gainesville, FL. Write him at mveot@hotmail.com or cto this newspaper.

When the cast of MTV's "The Real World" came and spoke on campus, activists were there talking about the real world at the University of Florida: racism and class exploitation. A week after lecturing on the need to "attack racism on the front," former UF president John Lombardi was embarrassed at a talk, when four activists questioned him on the night shift, which he began under his administration. Whether administrators were speaking at student assemblies or award ceremonies, activists were there at least passing out flyers and talking to people about the issue. Visibility was further increased through t-shirts, buttons and graffiti seen throughout town.

In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

ment such a success is that people exercise real power. From the bottom-up, in the streets, and make a real affect. The anti-globalization movement has organized us out of our

into affinity groups, clusters, and spokes-councils where we take part in changing the face of a city by working cooperatively.

In SOA demos we follow orders from SOA. Watch "Peace Keepers," police, and MPs. We march in obedient lines to work zones that we know are waiting for us. We walk to the buses, get on, and get processed. We're on time. The State processes us and we go home.

Contrary to anti-globalization protests where successes are made by innovation, coalition building, collective action and militancy are counted not just in numbers but in effectiveness, education and empowerment. The SOA demo measure success purely in numbers. But our movement needs to be not only big, but empowering and educational to participants, and threatening to oppressive institutions.

The incredible aspects of the anti-globalization movement must be brought to the anti-SOA movement, working together to further our opposition to the SOA, and other institutions of oppression and make real changes.

\*Numbers are provided by SOA Watch. For more information on the SOA demos, check out SOA Watch's website: www.soa.org. For articles about this year's SOA demo, visit: www.attainia.indymedia.org.

A Cuban Agency of the Onward Collective, a community organizer, and co-ordinator of the Civic Media Center (www.gated-net.com) a non-profit reading room and library of the non-corporate press, in Gainesville, FL. Write him at mveot@hotmail.com or cto this newspaper.

When the cast of MTV's "The Real World" came and spoke on campus, activists were there talking about the real world at the University of Florida: racism and class exploitation. A week after lecturing on the need to "attack racism on the front," former UF president John Lombardi was embarrassed at a talk, when four activists questioned him on the night shift, which he began under his administration. Whether administrators were speaking at student assemblies or award ceremonies, activists were there at least passing out flyers and talking to people about the issue. Visibility was further increased through t-shirts, buttons and graffiti seen throughout town.

In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

ment such a success is that people exercise real power. From the bottom-up, in the streets, and make a real affect. The anti-globalization movement has organized us out of our

into affinity groups, clusters, and spokes-councils where we take part in changing the face of a city by working cooperatively.

In SOA demos we follow orders from SOA. Watch "Peace Keepers," police, and MPs. We march in obedient lines to work zones that we know are waiting for us. We walk to the buses, get on, and get processed. We're on time. The State processes us and we go home.

Contrary to anti-globalization protests where successes are made by innovation, coalition building, collective action and militancy are counted not just in numbers but in effectiveness, education and empowerment. The SOA demo measure success purely in numbers. But our movement needs to be not only big, but empowering and educational to participants, and threatening to oppressive institutions.

The incredible aspects of the anti-globalization movement must be brought to the anti-SOA movement, working together to further our opposition to the SOA, and other institutions of oppression and make real changes.

\*Numbers are provided by SOA Watch. For more information on the SOA demos, check out SOA Watch's website: www.soa.org. For articles about this year's SOA demo, visit: www.attainia.indymedia.org.

A Cuban Agency of the Onward Collective, a community organizer, and co-ordinator of the Civic Media Center (www.gated-net.com) a non-profit reading room and library of the non-corporate press, in Gainesville, FL. Write him at mveot@hotmail.com or cto this newspaper.

When the cast of MTV's "The Real World" came and spoke on campus, activists were there talking about the real world at the University of Florida: racism and class exploitation. A week after lecturing on the need to "attack racism on the front," former UF president John Lombardi was embarrassed at a talk, when four activists questioned him on the night shift, which he began under his administration. Whether administrators were speaking at student assemblies or award ceremonies, activists were there at least passing out flyers and talking to people about the issue. Visibility was further increased through t-shirts, buttons and graffiti seen throughout town.

In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

ment such a success is that people exercise real power. From the bottom-up, in the streets, and make a real affect. The anti-globalization movement has organized us out of our

into affinity groups, clusters, and spokes-councils where we take part in changing the face of a city by working cooperatively.

In SOA demos we follow orders from SOA. Watch "Peace Keepers," police, and MPs. We march in obedient lines to work zones that we know are waiting for us. We walk to the buses, get on, and get processed. We're on time. The State processes us and we go home.

Contrary to anti-globalization protests where successes are made by innovation, coalition building, collective action and militancy are counted not just in numbers but in effectiveness, education and empowerment. The SOA demo measure success purely in numbers. But our movement needs to be not only big, but empowering and educational to participants, and threatening to oppressive institutions.

The incredible aspects of the anti-globalization movement must be brought to the anti-SOA movement, working together to further our opposition to the SOA, and other institutions of oppression and make real changes.

\*Numbers are provided by SOA Watch. For more information on the SOA demos, check out SOA Watch's website: www.soa.org. For articles about this year's SOA demo, visit: www.attainia.indymedia.org.

A Cuban Agency of the Onward Collective, a community organizer, and co-ordinator of the Civic Media Center (www.gated-net.com) a non-profit reading room and library of the non-corporate press, in Gainesville, FL. Write him at mveot@hotmail.com or cto this newspaper.

When the cast of MTV's "The Real World" came and spoke on campus, activists were there talking about the real world at the University of Florida: racism and class exploitation. A week after lecturing on the need to "attack racism on the front," former UF president John Lombardi was embarrassed at a talk, when four activists questioned him on the night shift, which he began under his administration. Whether administrators were speaking at student assemblies or award ceremonies, activists were there at least passing out flyers and talking to people about the issue. Visibility was further increased through t-shirts, buttons and graffiti seen throughout town.

In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

ment such a success is that people exercise real power. From the bottom-up, in the streets, and make a real affect. The anti-globalization movement has organized us out of our

into affinity groups, clusters, and spokes-councils where we take part in changing the face of a city by working cooperatively.

In SOA demos we follow orders from SOA. Watch "Peace Keepers," police, and MPs. We march in obedient lines to work zones that we know are waiting for us. We walk to the buses, get on, and get processed. We're on time. The State processes us and we go home.

Contrary to anti-globalization protests where successes are made by innovation, coalition building, collective action and militancy are counted not just in numbers but in effectiveness, education and empowerment. The SOA demo measure success purely in numbers. But our movement needs to be not only big, but empowering and educational to participants, and threatening to oppressive institutions.

The incredible aspects of the anti-globalization movement must be brought to the anti-SOA movement, working together to further our opposition to the SOA, and other institutions of oppression and make real changes.

\*Numbers are provided by SOA Watch. For more information on the SOA demos, check out SOA Watch's website: www.soa.org. For articles about this year's SOA demo, visit: www.attainia.indymedia.org.

A Cuban Agency of the Onward Collective, a community organizer, and co-ordinator of the Civic Media Center (www.gated-net.com) a non-profit reading room and library of the non-corporate press, in Gainesville, FL. Write him at mveot@hotmail.com or cto this newspaper.

When the cast of MTV's "The Real World" came and spoke on campus, activists were there talking about the real world at the University of Florida: racism and class exploitation. A week after lecturing on the need to "attack racism on the front," former UF president John Lombardi was embarrassed at a talk, when four activists questioned him on the night shift, which he began under his administration. Whether administrators were speaking at student assemblies or award ceremonies, activists were there at least passing out flyers and talking to people about the issue. Visibility was further increased through t-shirts, buttons and graffiti seen throughout town.

In response to the widespread and public outpouring of dissent, UF agreed to appoint a committee to study the night shift, something promised nearly two years previously when it first began. The thirteen-member panel included three custodial workers (two of them night shift employees and union organizers), several administrators and faculty members, a student government representative and a graduate student. AFSCME President Sharon Bauer and Physical Plant Director (the section of campus that controls custodial workers) David O'Brien were among members of the committee. The Night Shift Review Committee, as it was called, had no power and could only make recommendations to the administration.

ment such a success is that people exercise real power. From the bottom-up, in the streets, and make a real affect. The anti-globalization movement has organized us out of our

into affinity groups, clusters, and spokes-councils where we take part in changing the face of a city by working cooperatively.

In SOA demos we follow orders from SOA. Watch "Peace Keepers," police, and MPs. We march in obedient lines to work zones that we know are waiting for us. We walk to the buses, get on, and get processed. We're on time. The State processes us and we go home.

Contrary to anti-globalization protests where successes are made by innovation, coalition building, collective action and militancy are counted not just in numbers but in effectiveness, education and empowerment. The SOA demo measure success purely in numbers. But our movement needs to be not only big, but empowering and educational to participants, and threatening to oppressive institutions.

The incredible aspects of the anti-globalization movement must be brought to the anti-SOA movement, working together to further our opposition to the SOA, and other institutions of oppression and make real changes.

\*Numbers are provided by SOA Watch. For more information on the SOA demos, check out SOA Watch's website: www.soa.org. For articles about this year's SOA demo, visit: www.attainia.indymedia.org.

A Cuban Agency of the Onward Collective, a community organizer, and co-ordinator of the Civic Media Center (www.gated-net.com) a non-profit reading room and library of the non-corporate press, in Gainesville, FL. Write him at mveot@hotmail.com or cto this newspaper.



# COINTELPRO: Then and Now (PART II)

By Greg Wells

Throughout the late 1960's and early 1970's there were officially 295 COINTELPRO operations carried out against the black liberation movement, including 233 aimed specifically at discrediting, infiltrating and raiding the Black Panthers. COINTELPRO was also responsible for the systematic disruption and ultimate deterioration of the radical student movement, the anti-Vietnam movement and the American Indian Movement. Due to space constraints I will share only one such story. The next installment (part III in ONWARD, Spring 2001) will take a look at the ongoing escalation of COINTELPRO operations during the past 25 years, long after the purported official end of operations in 1971.

On August 25, 1967 FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover officially launched the formal Anti-Black Liberation operation known subsequently as COINTELPRO. The word "formal" requires special notice in this context as it shows that this decision was made on behalf of the larger population and parties that it directly affected. It implies that it is the beginning of this particular activity being carried out, an official start. But indeed it doesn't take one with an exceptionally gifted memory to see behind the thinly veiled history of harassment, infiltration and disruption of all black liberation struggles in America throughout the 20th century.

In the decades after the highly controversial raiding of prominent black nationalist Marcus Garvey in 1927 (see part I in ONWARD, Fall 2000) the FBI made as one of its most important priorities the constant and thorough tracking of the up and coming National Association of the Advancement of Colored People. Hoover's justification for the over 3,000 wire taps and 800 bugs installed in the continued surveillance of the group was the NAACP's alleged ties to the Communist Party USA. When the Communist Control Act of 1954 was signed into motion the FBI tried diligently to have the NAACP and its employees forced to register as subversives and face the penalty of prison for doing so. It took some last minute rulings from the Supreme Court to save the organization from this blatant act of repression. By that point however the feds had moved on to begin looking into the "dangerous and unscrupulous" methods of Dr. Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

By 1965 King had become the country's most prominent and recognizable voice of the civil rights movement. The struggle he had emerged from a small and humble beginning in the Deep South and expanded his agenda to include international relations and the US involvement in Viet-

nam. He was almost certainly the single most documented and watched individual by the FBI throughout the decade of the 60's. Intensifying the FBI's surveillance, in 1964 a major urban uprising erupted in Harlem; the following summer the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles saw the police and National Guard that resulted in the death of 34 people. The decade-long ride to glory of King and SCLC was coming under heavy fire.

The assassination of Malcolm X in 1965, police repression, racial profiling and forced drafting into the military and subsequently the Vietnam War was shaking the largely pacifist reform movement to its very core. Stokely Carmichael and others of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee began to shift to a more radical and militant tone in 1966. Looking back on Lowndes County, Alabama which SNCC carried out a campaign aimed at fighting the town's corrupt government and close alliance with the KKK, Carmichael stated the following: "We saw the political organization of the masses as the only route to solving our problem. We placed a strong emphasis on the fact that non-violence for us was a tactic and not a philosophy, as it was for SCLC." This clearly shows that the gap between the Gandhian principles of King and Malcolm's "By Any Means Necessary" approach was widening rapidly.

Out of the ashes of Malcolm's assassination and the raging ghetto uprisings, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense emerged out of Oakland, California in October 1966. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, who worked with troubled youth at an anti-poverty center, became leading voices in opposition to the Oakland police department's continued level of harassment and brutalization of the black ghetto of Oakland. Their plan was to create an organization that would focus on creating sustainable programs for the city's poor while organizing the masses to monitor the police in their neighborhoods by knowing and understanding their basic constitutional rights, such as the right to carry an unlicensed firearm. The Black Panther Party (BPP) hit the street with a major impact as their ten-point platform called for the need of total self-emancipation of all African-Americans to be able to achieve complete freedom from the restraints of the racist capitalist regime which they sought to topple.

Members travel from as far as Guatemala, Mexico and Haiti, and though they come from different places with distinct cultures they nonetheless share the same working conditions, in terms of low wages, poor living conditions, and a worker-employer relationship that is very heavily tilted in favor of the labor contractor and grower. The Coalition argues that this distorted relationship is the root cause of poverty that is endemic to agricultural communities in the U.S. The dynamics of this relationship must be transformed in order for the farmworker to enjoy higher wages and improved working conditions. Having identified the problem, the question re-

mains: how can members of the working poor alter this imbalance of power that results in a \$7,500 annual income? The process begins through the constant reflection and analysis the workers themselves engage in through their involvement in the Coalition. Workers are the ones prioritizing their problems, not someone else that represents them in the role of a delegate or steward. Yet on a deeper level the individual, by participating directly in such decisions and in the creation of organizational strategy, gains a greater awareness of what is happening in the community at large and realizes that she or he is not alone. By participating and witnessing other worker involvement the individual becomes aware of their role and potential for creating change.

The Coalition of Immokalee Workers offers a space where the farmworker becomes visible again. Normally the agricultural worker exists on the periphery of society, stooped over a plant or an open field, but always away in a field distant from mainstream America's view. She speaks Spanish, Tzotzil, or Creole, is

continued on page 16

## NEWS BRIEFS

### Cowardly and Brutal Police Attack Against a Mapuche Community

Friday, Nov 17 at 9:00 am, a police contingent of about 400 men attacked the Mapuche community of Temucalci, Comuna de Ercilla, IX Region of Chile. Several Mapuches were arrested and wounded as a result of this action.

A delegation from the community, presented the details. "A strong police contingent arrived, breaking into the community while the men were working and the women were home alone. Those found in their way were beaten and threatened with racist taunts 'We are going to violate these Indians' .... 'We are going to kick them to a pulp.' Shootings were fired indiscriminately."

Police destroyed two houses inhabited by elderly men, and arrested the commuters, who were badly beaten. Other Mapuches fled towards a neighboring community while some hid in the local school. The police invaded the school, terrified the children, and injured another Mapuche after random gunfire. The result of this three-hour police action left six Mapuches injured by pellets. Fearing arrest, they avoided the medical center and may suffer serious health problems as a result of inadequate medical care. Two injured prisoners, Man Huichulcan and Fernando Llanca, were transferred to the military garrison of Angol.

Forcefully removed from their homes, Mapuches were beaten and threatened. Nobody understands why this racist action occurred. Since the Mapuches were in talks with the government and the deforestation company Minotric, it has been surmised that this brutal action was instigated by Minotric, in order to bully the Mapuches into accepting the deplorable terms laid down by the government-backed company. Further, the company is installing electrical lines fencing on disputed land with under irrigation.

Because of this, the community of Temucalci makes an urgent call to the international community to intervene. The police constantly violate all human rights and the government continues to be an accomplice in the violations by the forest companies.

### Protests Disrupt Climate Conference

THE HAGUE, Netherlands - Demonstrators disrupted a major conference on global warming Wednesday, November 22, with dozens of protesters staging a sit-in and a cake thrower targeting the top US negotiator. The uproar came as discussion at the UN climate conference focused on global emissions of greenhouse gases, blamed by many for global warming.

Key contentious issues include how far countries should be able to use the carbon dioxide absorbed by forests and agricultural lands against emissions reductions targets and to what extent nations should be able to buy their way into complying with their targets.

But the talks were disrupted when several dozen environmental activists entered the high security building, broke into a committee meeting and staged a sit-in. Conference President Jan Pronk said equipment was damaged and small fires were set in the building.

A woman pistol chief US negotiator, Under Secretary of State Frank E. Loy as the American delegation gave its daily press briefing and calmly walked out of the room.

The UN conference involved delegates from more than 180 countries, has two days left to decide how to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, according to the Kyoto agreement.

Dutch police said they had arrested around 100 protesters Wednesday near The Hague's central train station as activists planned to march to a number of embassies to protest against nuclear energy without a permit.

Protesters in the conference building said they believed the negotiators were watering down environmental protection. "They need to stop talking about how to make money from climate change," one activist said.

### Protests Disrupt Climate Conference

THE HAGUE, Netherlands - Demonstrators disrupted a major conference on global warming Wednesday, November 22, with dozens of protesters staging a sit-in and a cake thrower targeting the top US negotiator. The uproar came as discussion at the UN climate conference focused on global emissions of greenhouse gases, blamed by many for global warming.

Key contentious issues include how far countries should be able to use the carbon dioxide absorbed by forests and agricultural lands against emissions reductions targets and to what extent nations should be able to buy their way into complying with their targets.

But the talks were disrupted when several dozen environmental activists entered the high security building, broke into a committee meeting and staged a sit-in. Conference President Jan Pronk said equipment was damaged and small fires were set in the building.

A woman pistol chief US negotiator, Under Secretary of State Frank E. Loy as the American delegation gave its daily press briefing and calmly walked out of the room.

The UN conference involved delegates from more than 180 countries, has two days left to decide how to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, according to the Kyoto agreement.

Dutch police said they had arrested around 100 protesters Wednesday near The Hague's central train station as activists planned to march to a number of embassies to protest against nuclear energy without a permit.

Protesters in the conference building said they believed the negotiators were watering down environmental protection. "They need to stop talking about how to make money from climate change," one activist said.

### Workers block truck during 1997 General Strike

Workers block truck during 1997 General Strike

continued on page 16

photo from www.ciw-online.org



## Pogroms in Palestine: An Israeli Anarchist on Jewish Resistance to the Israeli State

Worker's Solidarity Movement  
Interviews Ilan Shailit

Media coverage of the murderous pogroms unleashed by Israel against Palestinians skewers the story. The so-called "peace process" — like that of Northern Ireland — is based on institutionalizing ecumenism rather than overcoming it. There are citizens of Palestine and Israel, from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds, who seek something other than two rival sectarian states. Ironically, Zionism — the belief Jews will only be safe from pogroms in a country run by Jews — is behind the pogroms.

Indymedia Israel (<http://indymedia.org.il>) has reported many joint demonstrations including 4,000 Jews and Palestinian-Israelis gathered in Haifa on Oct. 21st rally under the slogan "For A Just Peace & Full Equality." The report says "speakers, among other points, called for an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the removal of all settlers, an end to the officially sanctioned shootings by the Israeli Army of unarmed Palestinians in both the Occupied Territories and Israel, and full equality between Jewish and Palestinian Israelis." Ilan Shailit, an Israeli anarchist active for many years in "persistent and principled opposition to Zionism" had this to say:

"Before the current round of pogroms, about 200 Israelis were really active — mainly around protests related to the demolition of Palestinian homes. In the last two big demonstrations against the suppression of the Palestinians, there were about 500 people, and less than 50 can be regarded as very radical. This 50 includes anarchists and other libertarian communists."

"Until recently, the left anti-Zionist flag was raised only by the libertarian communist group Matzen, and we were never more than 30 activists — Jews and Palestinians. In 1972, one of our members was the first to resist conscription from an anti-Zionist position; this was the origin of later political resistance to conscription or refusal to serve in the occupied regions."

"In February 1968 when we had the first demonstration against the 1967 war, only 19 participated — including a member of the Communist Party who was nearly expelled for joining. At a 1970 Communist Party demonstration that we took part in, they threatened to attack us if we would not stop shouting 'down with the occupation.' Just after the 1982 Lebanon war, however, the anti-occupation movement was finally joined by the Zionist left."

"A factor people are not aware of in Israel and abroad is the shift in power balance within the ruling class in Israel. Those capitalists who want to exploit the Palestinian workers and the workers of the neighboring third world Arab countries are starting to part beginning over the old Zionist capitalists and bureaucrats."

"Also, the recent demonstrations of Israeli Palestinians are rooted in contradictory processes. First, the Palestinians' morale is much stronger due to the defeat of part of the Zionist project — more clearly that they are forced to retreat from parts of the occupied lands. Second, the legal status of the Israeli Palestinians has changed from barely legal and in fear of expulsion to second class citizens. Many have become disillusioned with the Palestinian leadership and have started to prefer even second class citizenship of Israel, to their struggle for full citizenship has increased immensely."

"The only short-term solution to subvert the region is the end of the 1967 occupation and a solution acceptable to the majority of Palestinians, a solution to the refugee problem, and equality for Israeli Palestinians. As long as Israeli laws in power to terrorize the Palestinians into submission, no stability will be possible."

"In the 60s, Matzen adopted the position that the conflict between the Zionist settler colonialists and the indigenous Palestinians can be resolved only in a socialist (i.e. libertarian communist) Middle East and not simply by any arrangement between the Israeli Jews and the Palestinians. Our new group name — East Mediterranean Anarchist Collective — reflects this. The term 'East of the Mediterranean Sea' is free from any Zionist Israeli color or Palestinian nationalist one. It is also different from Eurocentric terms 'Middle East' or 'Near East'."

(From <http://usaf.colanarchism>)

## Cement Plant Action...

continued from page 4

employ all sorts of tricks to keep them off our friends on the inside. Many probably would have gotten organized and prepared to risk arrest (and brought reinforcements) if informed that we should plan to do so. Also, if planners had been more thorough, a security team including police liaison, communications people, and jail support would have been more present and been defended more successfully (most of the lockdown crew and their supporters at the site were from other communities). A couple of folks basically on our side came out and raised hell outside the trailer for what they felt was an outright betrayal of their trust — particularly one woman who made it her job to get a permit for the fictional picnic to be held in a park controlled by her neighborhood association. As a working person already involved in heated struggles with the middle- and upper-class heavies on the neighborhood association's board, she felt screwed by what she saw as the deception the organizers involved her in, and was catching even more hell from the bigwigs when they found out what was really going on. Only some sincere and diplomatic apologies from the lockdown crew kept this woman from literally

who lived in the area — the action would have been more support and been defended more successfully (most of the lockdown crew and their supporters at the site were from other communities). A couple of folks basically on our side came out and raised hell outside the trailer for what they felt was an outright betrayal of their trust — particularly one woman who made it her job to get a permit for the fictional picnic to be held in a park controlled by her neighborhood association. As a working person already involved in heated struggles with the middle- and upper-class heavies on the neighborhood association's board, she felt screwed by what she saw as the deception the organizers involved her in, and was catching even more hell from the bigwigs when they found out what was really going on. Only some sincere and diplomatic apologies from the lockdown crew kept this woman from literally

When I talked to the lockdown crew during the action and at meetings afterwards, they expressed the hope that their action would be a catalyst to inspire other folks from surrounding communities... and EFFers and other activists from around the region, to come out and lend a hand. They were hoping to launch a permanent occupation. They were counting on catching the company and authorities by surprise, and on the spontaneous solidarity of local folks opposed to the cement plant to help the blockade to where dozens of others would come join them. There would be a huge camp established nearby, and other blockades would go up at other access roads, shutting down the company's operation indefinitely.

photo by Dan Berger

Ischucknee Earth Firsters locked down in the trailer

"going over" to the other side right before our eyes. We need to avoid shouting ourselves — and our allies — in the feet.

"JOBS VS. ENVIRONMENT"

In addition to being labeled "unstable agitators," we were hit with the classic "jobs vs. the environment" quagmire. Many people who showed up to join and threaten us during the arrest were working people who expected to gain economically from the cement plant and related industries, especially the high-volume trucking needed to haul in tires, coal, and other ingredients for the process and haul out the finished product. While much of the company-line hype about "jobs" is easy to see through (i.e. there are only about 80 positions available at the plant, many of them to be filled by skilled technicians imported from other areas), a lot of the testimony and criticism spoken calmly, was important and spoke to the kind of avoidable contradictions the environmental movement often involves itself in. People

the lockdown crew and the grassroots groups they work with could see through this bullshit boss-talk — the lockdown crew consisted of a small business owner, an organic farmer, a handyman, and an itinerant farmworker, all born in the area or had spent a significant part of their lives there. But most who turned out to support the action — with the exception of myself and a few others — were college students from Gainesville, and there was nothing in the signs we held, the literature we handed out, or the slogans spraypainted on the trailer that addressed the economic side of the issue from the perspective of working people or conveyed the regional scope of the problem. Most of the information was about the threats to the ecosystems of the rivers and springs and human health that the cement kiln would create, Anderson Columbia's record as a polluter, and the dirty politics behind the permit process. Certainly key issues, but it is incumbent on us to

continued on page 16

## Night Shift...

continued from page 6

not knowing what a study is. At the end of that meeting, the committee voted 16-4 to move the workers back to days until some need could be demonstrated for the shift. The next night, student senate proposed a resolution affirming the committee's recommendation against the night shift and was passed the following week. The faculty senate appointed a special task force over the summer that also voted against the night shift. On October 11<sup>th</sup> eleven night shift opponents met with three different administrators to push them into action and not let them drag their feet on the committee's recommendation. The administrators offered a lot of bureaucratic run-around, but promised to have a response within a week, though admitting the response could negate the committee recommendation and be made with out talking to any custodians.

A rally press conference was called for Thursday, October 19 outside the administration building to decry their lack of action. A unified statement drafted by several groups working on the issue was to be read. About three hours before the rally began, UF had an emergency meeting with several custodians and union members to announce the calling off of the night shift. The event then turned into a celebration. A new statement was quickly written entitled "Night Shift

Victory Belongs to Custodians. Not Administration" and two custodians spoke on the victory.

NOW

WHAT?

One of the most exciting things to grow out of the fight against the night shift is the loose formation of a broad coalition of traditionally separate groups. In addition to the union which was involved mostly in the legal battle, the struggle included members of the Black Student Union, Campus and County NAACP, Campus Environmental Action Group, Campus National Organization for Women, Club Grosse Labor Party, Puerto Rican Student Union and Student Peace Action. Since the coalition grew out of the night shift struggle, some restraining needs to be done, but many local activists believe the coalition could be a powerful, positive force for radical local

change. The recent resigning of a law professor from his position as Associate Dean of the college of law over racism at the campus has led to much attention given to the issues of race on campus, the custodial staff at UF is 90% black and the faculty is only 2% black. And the custodial force still makes below poverty level, forcing many custodians to work second or even third jobs just to exist. The struggle continues, but the victory against the night shift brings us one step closer to our ultimate goal.

Dan Berger is an Anarchist activist in Gainesville and was very involved in the night shift struggle, and is also a part of the Onward Collective. He can be contacted c/o ONWARD.



# Barrio Organizing...

continued from page 1

to be called the Brown Berets. By 1968, the group officially took that name. The Brown Berets' patch—which depicts two rifles, a cross and its slogan *La Causa* (borrowed from the United Farm Workers)—became visible in barrios throughout California. Initially, the Berets focused on addressing problems facing youth using a peaceful, mainstream approach, but, by 1968, adopted the militant politics of Chicano liberation.

As they became more successful and feared by authorities, the Brown Berets were targets of the FBI's COINTELPRO. By 1972, military chapters had been formed in the cities. In response to the arrests of many members and sparking divisions between members and chapters. Some fell prey to the manipulation by police who used the Berets to create a false image of controversial development, co-founder and 24-year-old "prime minister" David Sánchez resigned from and, disavowing the central committee or its general membership, dissolved the Brown Berets.

## Barrios Under Siege

Barrios still struggle with battles the Berets were formed to confront. Police brutality is still an issue. Gang culture—some a carryover from ties in Mexico—divides communities. Political and international isolation by leaders exacerbates many ills. Politicians, including former activists, intent on oppressing the community as well as developers intent on gentrifying the areas, besiege many barrios. In many barrios, there's a sense of betrayal by "community leaders" vigorously sleeping with the enemy and of ideals they learn aren't applied to them.

Nationalism is still strong in the barrios. Years of lies and a history of colonialism have demonstrated to Raza that no other first is often the best, if often faulty, policy. However, loyalty is tempered with a sharp eye to deeds. Many have told the community's trust for better political position or favor from the dominant power structure, and barrio organizers, more often, criticizing the people and politicians for their actions against the community. To the white left, this brand of accountability strikes at the core of contradictions with revolutionary nationalism. For the community, however, the contradiction is between words and action: people who come from the barrio and fail to be people are owed suspicion.

Just as critical to the transformation is the understanding that the political system itself targets the community specifically. "As our population grows we see how we are being attacked in an organized way. Money is taken away from community-based social services (health, counseling, child care, etc.) and put into law enforcement (police, prisons, anti-gang police unit programs). We are robbed of decent education, jobs are being taken away, and the mass media continues to paint a criminal image of Raza as 'gang members, dope dealers, and 'illegal aliens.'" note Barrio Workers organizers. "We are not sure how it is we're the cause of those social problems Chicanos are really the victims of. If we drop out of school, fall into the suicide of drugs (drugs), become a prison statistic, or join in the madness of street violence, the blame is put on us and not on the system that must at all costs continue to keep us uneducated, unskilled, poor and disunited."

The barrio issues aren't much different from issues all the poor face. Ultimately, what barrio activists are demanding isn't a great deal different from many populations, or even what the Black Panthers stood for: decent jobs, healthcare and housing, an end to police violence and an end to targeting the barrio. Why isn't the revolutionary left reaching out to this segment? And why isn't this community reaching out to them?

Among some barrio activists, there's a sense that Latinos have a history, politics and value system the white left won't or can't understand. While leftists, like the Revolutionary Communist Party, who attempt to co-opt with barrio organizations with Anglo leadership, have strong others, the League of Revolutionary Struggle, a white left-led "revolutionary" group, became heavily involved with the Raza youth formation Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Atlix (MECHA) in California during the 1980s. The LRS operated leading key positions in influential MECHA chapters. MECHA's actions led to the arrest of its members. The Democratic Party and supporting "progressive" candidates instead of its original calling of uniting students with their barrios. Similarly, barrio activists have found their marches, meetings and actions overtaken by groups looking for recruitment opportunities instead of barrio liberation.

Such parrotizing attitudes raise the question of Chicano/Latino autonomy. A clear analysis reveals that white-led multinational formations, whether conscious of it or not, are serving colonialism when trying to divide barrio organizations and creating, in Marxist terms, "pawns" in the conspiracy to put their perspective above barrio groups. Much of it is window-dressing—using images like Subcommander Marcos or the Brown Berets, but not supporting their vision, or talking about police harassment in the barrio but really seeking leadership roles in groups representative of the Chicano/Latino community. It's no wonder mistrust is so high.

## "The Police Are An Occupying Army"

On the street, youth activists are confronting police brutality head-on by informing youth about what they are and aren't legally

required to do when stopped by police. In a climate where cops occupying the barrio are taking advantage of ignorance in human rights to lock up youth, this information-as-weaponry campaign has been a powerful tool. "Understand that the police are the first line of defense for the US government," says the NCMC. "The police are an occupying army in the barrio."

Youth-led organizing has plugged in with older activists to create an effective infrastructure of involvement and activism. Youth cadres are coming together in barrio-based publishing and work shops aimed at their peers. Gatherings like Escuela Aztlán in California teach kids in their own neighborhoods and teach about culture, organizing skills, and political science. The perspectives are revolutionary, discussing history and national liberation, a need to work outside political offices and make organizing to the streets, among friends and family, and build a larger barrio revolutionary movement.

## Abajo Con La Torcida

Some youth get involved with Chicano/Latino prisoner support, recognizing a colonized people in the oppressor's jails need support and encouragement. High-profile campaigns, like that waged by the Barrio Defense Committee on behalf of prisoner Jose Luis Avila, proclaim all Raza captives to be prisoners of war held by a colonial government.

The Chicano-Mexicano Prison Project tackles the question of political prisoners in its place "Are All Raza Who Are Locked Down Political Prisoners?" The group defines prisoners in three categories: 1) The person who gets caught committing an illegal act for political reasons or is helping defend the rights and interests of their respective oppressed community and gets locked up; 2) "Unconscious Prisoners of Colonialism," those who commit an "illegal act" and get locked up; and 3) "Conscious Prisoners of Colonialism," the colonized person who commits an "illegal act," goes to jail and gains revolutionary consciousness.

The case of Raza activist Ramsey Muñiz and Alvaro Hernandez Lima are still prominent. On December 16, 1944, Ramsey Muñiz, a longtime activist, was sentenced to life without possibility of release for possession of 40 kilograms of cocaine in a car he was driving near the hotel where he was staying in Leticia, TX. According to Muñiz supporters, his attorney, and the records of the DEA agents, the arrest of Ramsey Muñiz had all the markings of a frame-up.

The person the DEA agents were originally pursuing and had earlier made a drug deal with, an individual named Donaciano Medina, was set free with no charges filed against him. Juan Gonzalez, an acquaintance of Muñiz, rented the car where the cocaine was found. Medina asked Muñiz to drive the car from one location to another while Gonzalez followed in another car. The DEA claims Muñiz stated a false name when checking into the hotel to hide his identity, but hotel records show he used his own name. The DEA claimed Muñiz was making suspicious phone calls from the lobby, but when his attorney Dick Depierri retrieved all phone records, all calls were confirmed as legitimate business calls, and the DEA refused to provide any information on the "suspicious phone calls." The DEA claimed hotel employees alerted them to Muñiz's suspicious activities, but when interviewed, all employees said there was nothing suspicious about his behavior and they had not contacted any authorities.

Muñiz, a popular high school and Baylor College football star and lawyer, twice ran for governor of TX under LRRP, once in 1972 and again in 1974, calling for, among other things, free education, breaking up monopolies, fair distribution of wealth, implementation of equal minority representation in the judicial system; abolishment of capital punishment; passage of the Equal Rights Amendment; removal of trade embargoes and economic sanctions against Cuba; and the abolition of the racist Texas Rangers police force. "The Mexican American and the black communities... don't vote because in the past they didn't have a real choice," Muñiz said during his 1972 run. "Our connection with the Democratic Party has been nothing more than a cheap marriage... they have led us and betrayed us. Now we are divorcing ourselves from the Democratic Party." (*United We Win, The Rise and Fall of La Raza United Party* by Ignacio Garcia).

Longtime activist Alvaro Hernandez Lima was sentenced on June 9, 1997 to 50 years for a police conviction in Alpine, TX. A sheriff went to arrest Hernandez at his home on July 18, 1996 on a charge of aggravated robbery, which was later dismissed. When the named Hernandez questioned the sheriff's abuse of power, the officer reportedly drew his weapon. Before he could raise it and shoot, however, Hernandez disarmed him. At arraignment, Hernandez confessed the illegal occupation of the Southwest, the false charges, and asserted his people's undeniable right to self-defense and to self-determination of oppressed nations. He invoked international law and demanded to be treated as a prisoner of war under Geneva Convention principles and other human rights accords.

Hernandez was the national coordinator of groups like National Movement of La Raza and the Ricardo Alvarez Guerra Defense Committee, which led the struggle to free a Mexican nationalist from death row after being framed by Houston police for killing a

cop. From a previous case, Alvaro's struggle was adopted on Dec. 8, 1990 at Hunter College in New York City by the Special International Tribunal on violations of human rights of political prisoners and prisoners of war held in US prisons and jails. He was a non-governmental organization (NGO) delegate in 1995 before the 49th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland. Before the UN General Assembly, he condemned the US government's dismal human rights record and its human rights violations of US political prisoners. Both men remain in prison.

## Where next?

Where is the Latino liberation movement headed? Mainstream studies of Latino politics have tended to reflect a primarily male view of political participation and political leadership. As such, the understanding of Latino political leadership continues viewing leadership as derived from official positions in elected or appointed offices and in formal organizations. However, trends in Latino communities indicate that considerable is expanding to include community-based, not solely position-derived, forms of leadership. In fact, much barrio empowerment leans to a great extent on the involvement of Latino women and alliances among the Latin Diaspora (e.g., Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Cubans, Central and South Americans, Dominicans).

Certification is an issue in many barrios, as developers seek new places to give young, rich white folks a place to enjoy a taste of "Latin flavor," without the Latinos. In San Diego, barrio activists have consistently turned back efforts by the city and land barons to take areas of Barrio Leguía, including the historic Chicano Park, for development. In other barrios, this has been a losing proposition. Houston's Navigation Street barrios near downtown took many hits as the city sought to build Enron Field, a new baseball complex, and another downtown stadium initiative, this time for basketball, may already be in the works.

Central to the struggle is the collective ability to control the social, political and economic future of the community. Whether it's criminal justice, land or the future of youth, self-determination, autonomy and justice remain key to needs of barrios across the United States.

Emesto welcomes comments, criticism and feedback to this article. Please feel free to contact via P.O. Box 667233, Houston, TX 77266-7233 or e-mail at jrp@pd.net.



photo from [www.la.indymedia.org](http://www.la.indymedia.org)  
MECHA

# U'wa...

continued from page 5

For people concerned with human rights, the U'wa campaign clearly focuses on issues that have been integral to anti-globalization demonstrations worldwide since Seattle last winter. With government and U'wa's own private troops standing guard, the U'wa's watch on Occidental elites for control their sacred homeland. Taking the success of the campaign against Fidelity Investments as a cue, concerned activists are urged to target Occidentals' new target shareholder, New York-based Sanford C. Bernstein & Co. L.P., a subsidiary of Alliance Capital Management L.P. Sanford Bernstein deserves the same imitations harassment as Fidelity (over \$4 billion and with assets of over \$470 billion and over 20 offices worldwide they present an accessible target).

Anarchists should act in solidarity. We can provide material support for the U'wa struggle (i.e. raise money), and raise consciousness here on the importance of defending indigenous peoples everywhere and the U'wa in particular from an ongoing assault by corporations and their governments.

TO DONATE FUNDS TO THE U'WA PEOPLE SEND CHECK/MONEY ORDER TO:

Atlix Mach  
115 South Topanga Canyon Blvd  
Topanga Canyon, CA 90260

## A Revolution Within a Revolution:

# Women in the EZLN

By Jenny Cassel

For the majority of people who have heard of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) of Chiapas, Mexico, the first Zapatista uprising occurred on January 1st, 1994, when the Zapatistas seized control of various major cities and towns in that state. According to Zapatista spokesperson Subcomandante Marcos, however, that is not the case.

"The first uprising of the EZLN," reports Marcos, "was in March of 1993, and it was led by the Zapatista women. They won, with no casualties." This "first uprising" was actually the passing, by the EZLN's Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee-General Command (CIRIC-IG), of the Revolutionary Women's Law, which demanded rights

for women that many of the indigenous women of the EZLN and its "base communities" had never before enjoyed. Created from proposals that went together the thoughts of thousands of indigenous women, the Women's Law broke down gender barriers, denounced oppressive traditions, and called for the reformation of gender roles both inside and outside the communities. Most importantly it demanded an active role for women in this process, insisting that women play an active role in governing not only their lives and communities, but others—throughout Mexico and the world.

In the Women's Law, Zapatista women demand "the right to participate in the revolution, any struggle to the extent their will and capacity allows them; to work and receive fair wages; to decide on the number of children they can have and take care of; to have posts of responsibility and to be allowed to participate in the running of the community; to the right to health and education; to the right to marry the partner of their choice and not be forced into an arranged marriage; to not be the victims of any kind of violence, and finally, to the right to positions of leadership within the revolutionary forces."

While for women of "advanced" countries these demands may not look very revolutionary (although US women certainly have yet to achieve many of them), for the indigenous communities of Chiapas they certainly are. Even male EZLN troops did not take to the Women's Law immediately, as demonstrated by the reaction of one male CIRIC-IG delegate to the announcement, in Spanish, of the Law: "the good thing is that my woman doesn't understand Spanish." However, a woman delegate who happened to be seated within earshot of this comment put him in his place, retorting: "You're screwed anyway, because we are going to translate the Women's Law into all the dialects." And they did.

While the passing of the Women's Law occurred in a matter of minutes, the process that brought the possibility of the law into being was years, even decades, in the making. One major component in the formulation of the laws was the flow of ideas into Chiapas over the previous (and continue to challenge) the basic premise of what a woman's role should be in the context of Southeastern Mexico. The seeds for these new ideas were planted in Chiapas in the 1970s, when women began creating their own Christian, artisan, and even women-based organizations formulating specific demands for women within those organizations. These organizations provided the channels through which university and non-governmental organization (NGO) women

could later encourage local women to continue to challenge the structures of domination that have historically left them relatively powerless in family and community relations. According to Mexican sociologist Margarita Millán, the work done by university and NGO women helped to inspire indigenous women to "...[take] up tasks in the public sphere through cooperatives, as health promoters, in village banks," and other organiza-

tions, in which they have "...had to negotiate directly with the authorities. Little by little, all this has changed women's position in the community and provided them with a series of experiences which have created the space for developing their own more specific demands as part of more general ones."

While changing ideas have played a major role in expanding the possibilities for indigenous women from Chiapas, while supporting and mobilizing around community and ethnic demands like the struggle for land, justice

and democracy also began to put forward gender demands: democratic relations within the family, the community and the organization themselves; their participation as women in decision making in communal and organizational bodies; the right to inherit land, the right to decide when and when they marry; the right to work and study, and when in a position of power, to be respected by

ties to the Lacandon jungle, and by 1990, the population of Mexico's so-called "last frontier" had grown to approximately 300,000 men of diverse (but mainly indigenous) backgrounds. With so many people occupying not very much space, the young migrants of many distinct ethnicities and religions found it necessary to interact and with those interactions, new roles were created. Millán explains, "What has been happening in Chiapas is very like a huge social laboratory, combining many elements: a broad gamut of inter-indigenous mixes, together with leftist and progressive ecclesiastical ideologies...all rooted in the defense and reconstruction of the communities. A very important part of this process has been the construction of new spaces of identity, where indigenous men and women are changing their forms and cultures." As women

"change their forms and cultures" and become increasingly involved in the governing and organizing of their communities, they are also involving themselves more and more in the fight against the neo-liberal economic policies implemented in Mexico since 1982. And as women become more and more active in the resistance to such policies, they take advantage of the activist environment to push their own, gender-based demands as well. And more active in the resistance to such policies, they take advantage of the activist environment to push their own, gender-based demands as well. And more active in the resistance to such policies, they take advantage of the activist environment to push their own, gender-based demands as well.

To be a woman soldier in the EZLN, claims Millán, is to be in "...an exceptional situation in which women, as Marcos says, 'have had to stop being women to become soldiers,' but in which they can also step from that negation of 'being a woman' towards finding a new norm of femininity." EZLN women challenge the old norms, as

continued on page 17

## Dealing With Sexual Assault in Activism

By Chelsea Lincoln

Sexual assault in the activist community is a serious issue often not approached. What do we do when we find a woman has been sexually assaulted? How do we support her? How do we handle the situation? What do we do with the man guilty of such actions? How can men take responsibility for such actions? How does the community make sure such responsibilities are accounted for?

This issue is not confined to the activist community; of course, but as activists, we have a responsibility to deal with these incidents to ensure women are cared for and men are held accountable - by women and men.

I first heard a conversation about sexual assault at the End Corporate Dominance conference in Portland a few years ago. A woman spoke of an incident between herself and an activist man and how the community dealt with the incident: they beat him and wouldn't allow him back into the community. The woman didn't feel this was the best way to deal with the situation because the man could find a different community and violate other unsuspecting women.

This past spring, I found out that a man who sexually assaulted a friend was coming to the Eugene Active Resistance, a "Revolt Revolt" of discussions, workshops, protests and more. I freaked out. I talked to women around me and no one was comfortable with his presence. I put up signs around town warning women of his actions. Then, I talked about the situation in a woman's discussion group about everyday patriarchy.

Through the discussion, we concluded that, since the ones affected support our decision, I mentioned what the woman in the End Corporate Dominance Conference shared, and we agreed on the need for a better network of ideas and education in activist communities as well as community. The woman didn't feel this was the best way to deal with the situation because the man could find a different community and violate other unsuspecting women.

We were not this community. We had enough people to stand with our own community. He was not welcome to violate our space, bring back painful memories for some women, create an unsafe situation and bring fear to the community. He was to be approached - and told to LEAVE!

The idea was great. Unfortunately, the issue wasn't discussed earlier. We should have taken more time to discuss and prepare. I brought up the issue at a "Seven Women Movement" discussion with men and women present. I was saddened by the response after such a strong woman's discussion earlier. Mostly men - and some women - demanded more details. Was she raped? How bad was it? Was he physically violent?

When I first heard of this incident, I told the woman I supported her. I didn't demand she tell her horrifying account. I knew all I needed to her experience is her personal story and I didn't need to violate this to take a stand. But when I told people this, they still demanded more.

Then the confrontation happened. The man came to a workshop the next day and I pointed him out to people. All the women at the discussion got up to talk to the man. They told him their feelings - because they felt he was a very strong part in activists and life. The woman told him he wasn't wanted in town and why. Random women off the street, when told of what this man represented, expressed their experiences and pain of sexual assault to him - assuring him he was not wanted in town.

We then talked about the confrontation as a group. Although some men were not talking to him, educating him. While I understood the need for this, I didn't feel it was the responsibility of the town; our safety was at stake. Men were told to support us and stand behind us. Some knew what to do, others did not. He eventually agreed to leave town.

We then talked about the confrontation as a group. Although some men were not talking to him, educating him. While I understood the need for this, I didn't feel it was the responsibility of the town; our safety was at stake. Men were told to support us and stand behind us. Some knew what to do, others did not. He eventually agreed to leave town.

We then talked about the confrontation as a group. Although some men were not talking to him, educating him. While I understood the need for this, I didn't feel it was the responsibility of the town; our safety was at stake. Men were told to support us and stand behind us. Some knew what to do, others did not. He eventually agreed to leave town.

We then talked about the confrontation as a group. Although some men were not talking to him, educating him. While I understood the need for this, I didn't feel it was the responsibility of the town; our safety was at stake. Men were told to support us and stand behind us. Some knew what to do, others did not. He eventually agreed to leave town.

We then talked about the confrontation as a group. Although some men were not talking to him, educating him. While I understood the need for this, I didn't feel it was the responsibility of the town; our safety was at stake. Men were told to support us and stand behind us. Some knew what to do, others did not. He eventually agreed to leave town.

Chelsea can be contacted at PO Box 125, Corvallis OR 97339





## Refuse Dependence! Resist Attack! Women and Self-Defense

By Angela Beallor

"The act itself, of teaching self defense within the community, should be looked at as a revolutionary means of non-violence."

"There is danger in fighting... there is also danger in not fighting."

As a woman in this society, I have been taught two very important lessons. The first comes in the stories that I hear most every day about [a friend, a sister, an aunt, a lover, a mother, a grandmother...]. Who was raped/attacked/beaten. I cannot keep track anymore of all the women in my life who have been very personally touched by sexual assault and domestic violence. These—in conjunction with what I have faced in my life—pound in my brain every minute of my life... and tell me to live in fear. In fear that anytime I step outside my door, walk alone, sleep in my bed, do most anything, I could be attacked. This fear bounds me and controls all of my actions.

The second lesson varies for women—depending upon their cultural background and economic class—but does affect most women in one way or another. As women are "the weaker half of humanity," we are often forced to be dependent upon others to protect us. Being able to protect oneself is not a part of being a woman and we are often socialized to not consider this a part of our life skills.

When I became involved in politics seven years ago, I began to seriously challenge the first lesson. While women now face sexual assault and domestic violence, it doesn't have to be that way. I did not want to live in fear and I did not want my [friend, sister, aunt, lover, mother, grandmother...]. To live in fear. I got involved with work to educate about sexual assault and domestic violence and to challenge men to get involved in ending it.

But then what about the second lesson? I began to challenge the assumption that women had to be dependent upon men and that women had to live in fear and the police and government were there to protect the populace. I began to realize that everyone should know how to defend and protect themselves. As women, we need to learn how to protect ourselves from sexual

assault and domestic violence. As people, we must learn to protect themselves from any attack. As human beings working towards liberation, we must not be dependent upon the police and the government to protect us. Learning self-defense is an important step we can all take for personal and political reasons.

Self-defense is multi-faceted, including intuition, confidence and assertiveness. Learning to defend ourselves begins with trusting ourselves to know when we feel unsafe, feeling worthy to defend ourselves and learning to speak up and assert ourselves. Self-defense is armed and unarmed. It is a challenge for many women to begin self-defense because we are socialized to not be confident, assertive or trust our intuition. The tools of self-defense—our bodies and weapons—are not viewed as something to be used by women. We must challenge these ideas to prevent attack and protect ourselves when it does happen.

Over a year ago, I went to a shooting range for the first time. I had never touched a gun and was always bothered by the existence of a gun in my parents' house. It was hard to think of wildling so much power in my hands. I didn't like guns but I recognized the importance of learning how to use one. I watched as others shot their guns and attempted to build up the courage to try it myself. Once I did, I approached the gun timidly and with much trepidation. I squeezed the trigger and squeezed my eyes as I fired at the target downrange. Then I sat the gun down, walked away and attempted to hide the tears that had collected in my eyes.

While I was scared to fire a gun, my fear of being raped was greater. It was hard at first for me to be assertive with the gun—aggressively standing, poised to use the gun, imagining the target downrange is a potential attacker, however, helped me to gain confidence and assertiveness with the weapon. While I was not very comfortable with the idea of firing a weapon, I was less comfortable with the idea of being a victim of sexual assault.

With the high rates of violence against women, continued on page 16

By Laura Whitehorn

I stand at the verge of a shift from one community to another—from behind the walls to out in the streets, or, as other revolutionaries and ex-prisoners have said, from maximum to minimum security in the prisonhouse of U.S. society. For the past 14 years, I have been a political prisoner in federal prison. Now I'm about to be released.

I am the fortunate one—my codefendants remain in prison, having received longer sentences for additional charges. I should be feeling nothing but exhilaration and joy, yet I find myself full of relentless sorrow as I envision myself walking out the prison gate, leaving behind growing thousands of women prisoners, and, in particular, more than 15 women political prisoners.

Some of these political prisoners have sentences of 80 years and more—the price of mistaking colonialism and racism—and lacking a powerful movement for radical change in this country, their release lies shrouded in mists of distant futures.

Women political prisoners in this country come from national liberation movements like the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and the Black Liberation struggle; the anti-imperialist solidarity movement that grew out of the Vietnam War era; and Black Panther Party, and from the anti-imperialist peace movement. We were once active members of your communities. Several of us are out lesbians; all of us are strong women.

I leave behind six of these women at FCI Dublin. I leave behind a family, a web of support among women who have fought side by side every day for years and years—watching one sister seeing our children grow to adulthood, but resisting the slow death of mind, body and soul that prison tries to effect. I leave behind six sisters working to maintain their active relationships to friends, family and political comrades on the outside, refusing to allow the government to silence and isolate them in these cold cells.

I will carry with me the image of Carmen Valente waiting on 19 years' worth of lines to use the telephone to raise first her son (who was nine years old when Carmen was arrested in 1980), and now her granddaughter. I can close my eyes and picture Marilyn Buck and Linda Evans writing long letters, engaging in discussion as best they can with activists on the street and political prisoners in other prisons and other countries. I will always see, in my memory, Carmen, Alicia Rodriguez and Dylcia Pagan on the phone, speaking—through the miracle of modern technology 00 directly to a rally in Washington, DC supporting their petition for release, taking turns in their human intelligence to resist stagnating the Independence Movement.

position of the "nurturer," expected to help the men deal with their subjugation of women. We were reminded that we would need to continually repeat our calls for freedom and not to be too demanding of the men.

After this exercise, women and men moved into separate groups. The women addressed the very real and specific ways in which sexism affected their everyday lives, both out of and within the activist movement. The men began a process of gender/healing, discussing the ways society forced upon them "masculine" archetypes. When the men and women regrouped, the forty-eyed faces of the men were thrust upon us. The facilitators of the conference warned us that the men had gone "very deep" and were extremely vulnerable. In the activities that followed, the men repeatedly compared their "oppression" to ours. The first day of the conference left the women feeling, for the most part, angry and dissatisfied.

continued on page 16

## For All My Sisters...

Several of us are out lesbians;  
all of us are strong women

I will carry with me the indelible memory of Dylcia sitting on a tall stool, splattered with clay, sculpting Taino designs or a goddess with hair of copper and beads. Of Lucy Rodriguez, bent over a potter's wheel, balancing firmness and lightness of touch to raise a delicate bowl from a lump of recycled clay. I will see again and again Linda and Carmen patching scraps of fabric into spectacular quilts and helping each other painstakingly to baste and quilt them.

All of the women political prisoners have fought hard for a very long time for the ability to create beauty out of the numbing sameness of prison days, months, years. Every one of them creates poetry, drawings, pottery, quilts. Lovingly crafted artwork travels to exhibits, or arrives as a gift from a friend. Crafted from recycled scraps and art supplies gather with difficulty over the years, these works carry the message: we are growing and speaking, we are the future.

who fought with other weapons in other times. We continue.

I will take with me the images of all these comrades teaching and learning from the other women banished to the prison of Marilyn. Being a man to tutor a young woman who longs to pass the GED exam but is having trouble with math. Linda embracing a woman who has just learned she has hepatitis C or HIV, and explaining gently to her what the test results mean; of Carmen drawing out the connection between Puerto Rican Independence and Kujichagalia to a Kwanzaa gathering; of Dylcia patiently teaching book printing in English and Spanish; of Lucy enthusiastically demonstrating a yoga pose to a roomful of women seeking inner peace.

I will remember countless games of Scrabble with Marilyn frowning skeptically as I tried to convince her that "T-A-L-E-E-F-I-N" was a legitimate seven-letter word meaning "end of the story." I will carry in my crazed sports-fan's heart the image of Alicia poised on the edge of a hard, plastic chair, watching Michael Jordan lead her beloved Bulls to yet another victory—and her sympathetic pat on my shoulder to raise my anguish in final seconds of a Knicks loss.

I will hold in my mind glimpses of Marilyn, Alicia, Lucy and Linda poring over college textbooks, trying to complete mountains of work to earn their degrees, studying amidst massive overcrowding, ceaseless noise, unending interruptions, no space, no desk, sometimes not even any paper—but consistently excelling in their studies, growing to resist diminishing, asserting their human intelligence to resist stagnating the Independence Movement.

continued on page 17

## Men Hijack Gender Conf.

By Jessica Hardy

The Florida Radical Active Network (FRAN) held a Gender Liberation Conference in early December in Orlando, Florida. The conference was intended to deal with issues of sexism within FRAN and the activist movement in general. Instead of addressing sexism within the activist community, the conference perpetuated that very sexism. Again, women were pushed into the role of teacher and nurturer. Again, men were the focus. Again, women felt disempowered and frustrated. Again, activist men were self-congratulatory, content in the fact that they were at least better than mainstream men. The men shifted the focus from sexism in the movement to their own gender role socialization and how that affected them as males.

Near the beginning of the conference, women and men took turns telling each other what each needed the other to know and what their feelings were about the other sex. Most of the men's comments centered on the help they needed

from the women, putting us once again in the position of the "nurturer," expected to help the men deal with their subjugation of women. We were reminded that we would need to continually repeat our calls for freedom and not to be too demanding of the men.

After this exercise, women and men moved into separate groups. The women addressed the very real and specific ways in which sexism affected their everyday lives, both out of and within the activist movement. The men began a process of gender/healing, discussing the ways society forced upon them "masculine" archetypes. When the men and women regrouped, the forty-eyed faces of the men were thrust upon us. The facilitators of the conference warned us that the men had gone "very deep" and were extremely vulnerable. In the activities that followed, the men repeatedly compared their "oppression" to ours. The first day of the conference left the women feeling, for the most part, angry and dissatisfied.

continued on page 16



## Capitalism, Private Property, and the State!

By Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin

The existence of the State and Capitalism are rationalized by their apologists as being a "necessary evil" due to the alleged inability of the greater part of the population to run their own affairs and those of society as well as being their protection against crime and violence. Anarchists realize that quite the contrary, the principle barriers to a free society are the State and the institution of private property. It is the State which causes war, police repression, and other forms of violence, and it is private property—the lack of equal distribution of major social wealth—which causes crime and deprivation.

But what is the State? The State is a political abstraction, a hierarchical institution by which a privileged elite strives to dominate the vast majority of people. The State's mechanisms include a group of institutions containing legislative assemblies, the civil service bureaucracy, the military and police forces, the judiciary and prisons, and the sub-central State apparatus. The government is the administrative vehicle to run the State. The purpose of this specific set of institutions, which are the expressions of authority in Capitalist societies (and so-called "Socialist States"), is the maintenance and extension of domination over the common people by a privileged class, the rich in Capitalist societies, and the so-called Communist Party in State Socialist or Communist societies like the former USSR.

However, the State itself is always an elitist position structure between the rulers and the ruled, order-givers and order-takers, and economic haves and have-nots. The State's elite is not just the rich and super-rich, but also those persons who assume State positions of authority—politicians and judicial officials. Thus the State bureaucracy itself, in terms of its relation to ideological property, can become an elite class in its own right. This administrative elite class of the State is developed not just through the dispensing of privileges by the economic elite, but as well by the separation of private and public life—the family unit and civil society respectively—and by the opposition between and indifference of the family and the larger society. It is sheer opportunism brought on by Capitalist competition and alienation. It is a breeding ground for agents of the state.

The existence of the State and a ruling class, based on the exploitation and oppression of the working class are inseparable. Domination and exploitation go hand-in-hand, and in fact this oppression is not possible without force and violent authority. This is why Anarchist Commu-

nists argue that any attempt to use State power as a means of establishing a free, egalitarian society can only be self-defeating, because the habits of commanding and exploiting become ends in themselves. This was proven with the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution (1917-1921). The fact is that officials of the "Communist" State accumulate political power much as the Capitalist class accumulates economic wealth. Those who govern from a distinct group whose only interest is the retention of political control, by any means at their disposal. But the institution of Capitalist property, moreover, permits a minority of the population to control and to regulate access to, and the use of, all socially produced wealth and natural resources. You have to pay for the

land, water, and fresh air—to some giant utility company or real estate firm. This controlling group may be a separate economic class or the State itself, but in either case the institution of property leads to a set of social and economic relations. Capitalism, in which a small sector of society reaps enormous benefits and privileges at the expense of the laboring majority. The Capitalist economy is based, not upon fulfilling the needs of everyone, but upon making profit for a few. Both Capitalism and the State must be attacked and overthrown, not one or the other, or one, then the other—because the fall of either will not ensure the fall of both. Down with Capitalism and the State!

No doubt, some workers will mistake what I am saying as a threat to their personally accumulated property. No, Anarchists recognize the distinction between personal possessions and major Capitalistic property. Capitalistic property is that which has as its basic characteristic and purpose the command of other people's labor power because of its exchange value. The institution of property conditions the development of a set of social and economic relations which has established Capitalism, and the classic scenario of Capital exploiting labor. Where there is a high social division of labor and complex industrial organization, money is necessary to perform transactions. It is not simply that this money is legal tender, and it is used in place of direct barter goods, that is not what we are limited to here. Capital is money, but money as a process which reproduces and increases its value. Capital arises only when the owner of the means of production finds workers on the market as sellers of their own labor power. Capitalism developed as the form of private property

which shifted from the rural, agricultural style to the urban, factory style of labor. Capitalism centralizes the instruments of production and brings individuals closely alongside others in a disciplined workforce. Capitalism is industrialized commodity production, which makes goods for profit, not for social needs. This is a special distinction in Capital. Capitalist alone.

We may understand Capitalists, on the basis of our observations, as Capital endowed with will and consciousness. That is, as they acquire capital, and function as an elite, moneyed class with enough financial and political power to rule society. Further, that accumulated capital is money, and with it they control the means of production defined as the mills, mines, factories, land, water, energy and other natural resources,

1. Notice who's at meetings—how many men, how many women, how many white people, how many people of color, is it majority heterosexual? Are there out people? What are people's class backgrounds? Don't assume to know people, but also work at being more aware.

2a. Count how many times you speak and keep track of how long you speak.

2b. Count how many times other people speak and keep track of how long they speak.

3. Be conscious of how often you are actively listening to what other people are saying as opposed to just waiting your turn and/or thinking about what you'll say next.

4. Go to meetings focused on listening and learning; go to some meetings and do not speak at all.

5a. Count how many times you put ideas out to the group.

5b. Count how many times you support other people's ideas for the group.

6. Practice supporting people by asking them to expand on ideas and get more in-depth, before you decide to support the idea or not.

7a. Think about whose work and contribution to the group gets recognized.

7b. Practice recognizing more people for the work they do and try to do it more often.

8. Practice asking more people what they think about meetings, ideas, actions, strategy and vision. White guys tend to talk amongst themselves and develop strong bonds that manifest in organizing. This creates an internal organizing culture that is alienating for most people.

8. Practice asking more people what they think about meetings, ideas, actions, strategy and vision. White guys tend to talk amongst themselves and develop strong bonds that manifest in organizing. This creates an internal organizing culture that is alienating for most people.

9. Be aware of how often you ask people to do something as opposed to asking other people "what needs to be done?"

10. Think about and struggle with the saying, "You will be needed in the movement when the movement that you are not needed in the movement."

11. Struggle with and work with the model of group leadership that says that the responsibility of leaders is to help develop more leaders, and think about what this means to you.

12. Remember that social change is a process, and that our individual transformation and individual liberation is intimately interconnected with social transformation and social liberation. Life is profoundly complex and there are many contradictions. Remember that the path we travel is guided by love, dignity and respect—even when it's bumpy and difficult to navigate.

13. This list is not limited to white guys, nor is it intended to reduce all white guys into one category. This list is intended to disrupt patterns of domination which hurt our movement and hurt each other. White guys have a lot of work to do, but it is the kind of work that makes life worth living.

14. Day-to-day patterns of domination are the glue that maintain systems of domination. The struggle against capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy, heterosexism and the state, is also the struggle towards collective liberation.

15. No one is free until all of us are free.

From *Colours of Resistance*: <http://www.incoke-colours.org>

and the rich know that this is their property. They don't need ideological pretensions, and are under no illusions about "public property."

An economy, such as the one we have briefly sketched, is not based on fulfilling the needs of everyone in society, but instead based on the accumulation of profits for the few, who live in partial luxury as a leisure class, while the workers live in either poverty or one or two paychecks away from it. You see, therefore, that doing away with government also signifies the abolition of monopoly and personal ownership of the means of production and distribution.

This article is taken from Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin's book *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*. Contact him at [komboa@hotmail.com](mailto:komboa@hotmail.com).

## FIVE FOR FREEDOM

### DONATE \$5 OR MORE!

53 people were arrested November 16-17 while protesting the TransAtlantic Business Dialogue in Cincinnati, Ohio. Funds are needed for legal costs.

#### PLEASE SEND FUNDS TO:

N16 Legal  
c/o Molly  
PO Box 3415  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45201-5787  
513-241-5787

Kent ABC, PO Box 942, Kent, OH 44240. ABCKent@yahoo.com

## GRANTS FOR RADICAL WRITERS

The Institute for Anarchist Studies awards grants of up to \$4,000 twice a year to support written works that contribute to a critical understanding of social domination and/or attempt to draw out a reconstructive vision of a free society.

Applications are due by either December 15 or May 15 of each year. For more information and to obtain an application, send a SASE to the Institute for Anarchist Studies or visit our website.

### INSTITUTE FOR ANARCHIST STUDIES

P.O. Box 1664, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York, NY 10009  
<http://home.newyorknet.net/ias/Default.htm>



# ★RECLAIMING OUR HISTORY★

## Kuwasi Balagoon Lucy Parsons

By Shawn O'Hern

We define ourselves as Anarchists because we believe Anarchism to be the most realistic and practical philosophy for confronting inequality and oppression in our society as well as a framework on which to build a new world. Our movement, however, is small and has little, if any, influence outside of already marginalized subcultures. How do we move forward? How can we make our ideas relevant beyond the narrow confines of our movement today? One suggestion is to look at other revolutionaries and Anarchists of the past and learn the lessons of their struggles.

### A Revolutionary Life

Kuwasi Balagoon was a determined soldier in the movement for Black liberation. In this article, Black Liberation Army Political Prisoner of War Sundatta Accoli calls him a "natural rebel" and a "wild man" with "the heart of a gunfighter." Born on Sunday, a poem about Kuwasi by Anti-Imperialist Political Prisoner David Gilbert, states, "He'd dodged a lot of bullets, caught a couple too." Both Sundatta's ecology and Gilbert's poem also speak to Kuwasi's gentle side, his love of poetry, and his undying love for his people. Kuwasi's trial statement is a testimony to the depth of his understanding of oppression and to his commitment to confront it. Love for oppressed people guided his actions and led him to a life-long struggle against white supremacy and capitalism.

Kuwasi Balagoon was born in Lakeland, Maryland on Dec. 22, 1946. At the age of 17, he enlisted in the Army where he witnessed racism and discrimination in the treatment of Black and Chicano soldiers by white officers and soldiers. In his trial statement, Kuwasi tells us of "seeing countless New Africans" and Mexican GI dishonorably discharged after serving 34 months of a 36-month enlistment and being signalled for life and death employment and the right to live or let white GIs be reprimanded for "This especially harsh treatment reserved for people of color while whites go slapped on the wrist reinforced what Kuwasi already knew: that the US government is racist to the core. He left the military and moved to New York City where he became a tenant organizer. He worked organizing rent strikes, stopping evictions, representing tenants in court, killing rats, and facing off City Marshals who carried out evictions.

In 1968, Kuwasi joined the NYC Chapter of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. As the government repression of the Black Liberation movement in general—and the Black Panthers in particular—escalated, some revolutionaries went underground to avoid bogus charges and frame-ups. Kuwasi was indicted and captured in the NY Panther 21 case. Two years later when all 21 NY Panther 21 cases were found guilty of all charges, he went underground and became a soldier of the Black Liberation Army (BLA). The BLA was the armed, underground wing of the Black Liberation movement. They carried out such actions as robberies to fund the movement, engaging in gun-fights with the police, and conducting a guerrilla training camp.

Kuwasi was captured and spent most of the late 70's in prison. Living up to his reputation the "wild man" escaped from prison twice. His final arrest was in Dec. 1981 charged with participating in the expropriation of a Bronx armored car in Nyack, NY on Oct. 21, 1981. Two officers were killed and several people arrested.

In court, Kuwasi upheld a prisoner-of-war position, openly acknowledging that he was a soldier in the BLA. He refused to recognize the legitimacy of US jurisdiction over a New African. "I am a prisoner of war and I reject the crap about me being a defendant. I do not recognize the legitimacy of this court. The most defendant applies to someone involved in a criminal matter, in an internal search for guilt or innocence. It is clear that I've been a part of the Black Liberation movement all my adult life and have been involved in a war against the American Imperialist, in order to free New African people from it's yoke." This is an excerpt from the trial statement Kuwasi wrote exposing and darning the history

of racism, slavery, exploitation, and poverty that people of color have experienced in the U.S. The judge refused to let him finish reading his statement and Kuwasi was sentenced to life in prison.

Kuwasi Balagoon died Dec. 13, 1986 of AIDS-related pneumonia while imprisoned at NY State Prison in Auburn, 9 days before his 40th birthday. **Mass Organizing and Direct Action** Kuwasi Balagoon was an Anarchist. In his article "Anarchy Can't Fight Alone," he states, "Of all ideologies, Anarchy is the one that addresses liberty and egalitarian relations in a realistic and ultimate fashion." Kuwasi's most famous quote is the following paragraph from the same article.

*"We permit people of other ideologies to do five Anarchy rather than bring our lives to the masses and provide models to show the contrary. We permit corporations to not only lay off workers and to devastate their industries, but to poison the air and water to boot. We permit the police, Klan, and Nazis to terrorize whatever sector of the population they wish without repaying them back in any kind. In short, by not engaging in mass organizing and delivering war to oppressors, we become Anarchists in name only."*

Kuwasi's life and writings emphasize the importance of mass organizing and direct action. "Direct action" in the broader sense of the term encompasses such actions as passing such actions as squaring, community gardening, and clothing exchanges to armed actions that "deliver war to the oppressor." The basis of direct action is to achieve our goals through our own activity rather than rely on the actions or will of others. Anarchists use direct action to provide living examples of Anarchist ideals in practice. Kuwasi also declares "we must support in words and actions, self-defense and self-defense for third world people" here in the US and internationally.

Kuwasi believed in building a mass movement to topple the racist capitalist system. A movement of revolutionary militants that worked diligently in oppressed communities. A movement that not only confronted all systems of domination but also set out to build alternatives. Lorenzo Kombo Ervin called this creating "dual power structures" in his book *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*. These structures being the self-organization of oppressed/colonized communities to directly satisfy our needs and wants. Ervin goes on to say, "Building consciousness and revolutionary culture means taking on realistic, day-to-day issues, like hunger, the need for clothing and housing, joblessness, transportation and other issues." It follows that the alternatives we create mirror Anarchist ideals of solidarity, voluntary cooperation, mutual aid, and direct, participatory decision-making.

\*\*\*

In the last year, Anarchism has been propelled into homes, hearts, and minds across the world. Will our movement seize this opportunity to have an impact on those most in need of real change? Will we sow the seeds of revolutionary culture means taking on realistic, day-to-day issues, like hunger, the need for clothing and housing, joblessness, transportation and other issues? "It follows that the alternatives we create mirror Anarchist ideals of solidarity, voluntary cooperation, mutual aid, and direct, participatory decision-making."

For more information on the BLA, see *ONWARD #1 and 2*. To get a copy of Kuwasi's trial statement and other information, contact *Jackstonville ABCF*, address on page 18.

Shawn O'Hern lives in Richmond, VA where he works with Food Not Bombs, the Richmond Anti-Globalization Network, and the Coalition for Virginia Prisoners. He can be contacted at PO Box 5021, Richmond, VA 23220 or generalstrike170@hotmail.com

For almost 70 years, Lucy Parsons fought for the poor and disenfranchised, and challenged racist and sexist sentiments in a time when even radicals believed a woman's place was in the home.

### Early Life

Little is known about her early life. She had African, Native American, and Mexican ancestry. She was born in Texas around 1853, and her parents were probably slaves. To disguise her racial origins in a prejudiced society, Lucy used many surnames. She often went by Lucy Gonzales, denying her African roots, claiming her Mexican heritage caused her dark skin tone.

Around 1870, while living with former slave Oliver Gathings, Lucy met Albert Parsons, who would soon become her husband. Their marriage, however, wasn't legal, since laws at the time forbade marriage or cohabitation between white people and members of other races.

In 1872, with the South under repressive Jim Crow segregation laws, Lucy and Albert were forced to leave Texas due to their political involvement. Albert had worked organizing Black voters and was shot in the leg and threatened with lynching.

They also felt threatened because of their interracial marriage. Lucy and Albert arrived in Chicago in 1873, where Albert found a job as a printer for the *Chicago Times*. This was a difficult time for working people, especially in industrial cities like Chicago, because the country had fallen into a depression, leaving millions unemployed.

The Contract Labor Law of 1864 allowed American businesses to contract and bring in immigrants to workers. A large, unskilled pool of workers grew in Chicago, driving wages down, but the introduction of socialist and Anarchist ideology to the United States was radicalizing the workers.

### Inspirations and Actions

Because of his involvement in organizing workers, Albert was fired from his job at the *Times* and blacklisted in the Chicago printing trade. Lucy opened a dress shop to support them, and, with her friend Lizzie Swank, hosted meetings for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). Lucy found herself juggling her job and increasing political activity.

Lucy began to write for many radical publications, including *The Socialist* and *The Alarm*, an Anarchist weekly published by the International Working People's Association (IWWA), and Albert had helped found in 1883. Her most famous article, "To Tramps," advocated "propaganda by the deed," a philosophy that only violent direct action or the threat of such action will ultimately win the demands of the workers.

She was often considered more "dangerous" than her husband because she was so outspoken in her beliefs on the rights of the poor. Lucy was also threatening as a militant and radical woman who refused to assume the role of a homemaker.

### May Uprisings

By 1886, people across the country were rising in resistance to their working conditions and the squelching of union activities. People were calling for an eight hour work day, proclaiming, "whether you work by the piece or work by the day, decreasing the hours increases your pay." May 1st was chosen as the official kickoff date of the movement for the eight hour day.

The strategy was this: workers would demand eight hours work with no cut in pay, and they would strike if there was opposition. As a result, 350,000 workers across the nation walked off their jobs to participate in a mass general strike. Forty thousand workers struck in Chicago, creating a whirlwind of radical activity and convincing prominent radical leaders like Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman, and other revolutionaries.

On May 3rd, police fired into a crowd of un-armed strikers at McCormick Harvest Works, wounding many and killing two radicals called the Haymarket massacre. A meeting in Haymarket Square to discuss the situation. The meeting was disrupted by police, and an unknown figure threw a bomb, killing an officer. Over the next few days, police swept the

town looking for Anarchists and radicals. Although not at Haymarket Square that day, Albert was one of eight men accused of the bombing. He went into hiding until the first trial date, when he turned himself in.

During this period, Lucy was under constant surveillance by the police. She was arrested under the slightest suspicions that she knew the whereabouts of her husband. Although Lucy was a threat to the status quo, she was never charged with conspiracy in the bombing because authorities felt that if a woman were to stand trial with the men it would decrease the chance of the men receiving the death penalty.

### Don't Mourn...Organize!

In October, 1887, after a lengthy unjust trial, the men were sentenced to death by hanging; eventually, one man committed suicide in prison, two were given life sentences, and one received fifteen years imprisonment in an appeal. Lucy, stricken with anger and pride that her husband would die for his beliefs, headed a campaign for clemency. She toured, distributing information about the trial and gathering funds. Everywhere she went, Lucy was greeted by armed police who barred her entrance into meeting halls.

While attempting to save the lives of the convicted men, Lucy confronted a battle within the labor movement. The leadership of the Knights of Labor took a passive approach to labor struggle, felt the government should make an example of them. Though lacking support from the Knights, Lucy continued her speaking tour, gaining more and more interest in the Haymarket case and making a name for herself.

Her efforts, however, did not sway the Governor of Illinois under political pressure to execute the men. Four men were executed on November 11, 1887. When Lucy brought her two children to see their father one last time, she and her kids were arrested, taken to jail, forced to strip and left naked in a cold cell until her husband was dead. In tears upon her release, she vowed to continue to fight injustice, though she feared the same fate of her husband for herself.

After the execution, Lucy lived in poverty, receiving \$8 weekly from the Pioneer Aid and Support Association, a group supporting the families of the Haymarket martyrs and others working for labor interests.

### New Struggles

Lucy's affiliations in the labor struggle changed as factions arose in response to the upcoming 1890 elections. Many opted to organize for union and support the Democratic Party, away from the vote of the workers. Lucy vehemently opposed this, fearing it would weaken the movement and collaboration with oppressive parties would destroy the independent labor parties.

She feared their success in the 1887 elections. She identified a class hierarchy as the pivotal problem in the oppressive systems of her time, scoffing at reform measures within the existing government where the rich lorded over the working class.

In 1888, Lucy spoke in England. On her return, she struggled for free speech consumed her, as she compared the freedom in England with the repression in the US. Through force and arrest, the city continually thwarted her efforts to speak and find her for selling her *American* pamphlet on the street. Even after the 1889 ruling that Anarchists have the right to free speech, she fought for this right her whole life, in constant conflict with the forces wanting to silence her.

By 1890, craft unionism witnessed major defeats and increased technology and the industrial scale of the workplace. In 1891, Lucy and Lizzy Holmes began editing *Freedom: A Revolutionary Anarchist-Communist Monthly* where she proclaimed the major labor struggles of 1892 meant the revolution was coming, but conditions for workers worsened as the Reading and Philadelphia Railroads closed and millions went unemployed. In 1894 Pullman workers went on strike after their organization had been fired. Though

continued on page 17  
★Page 13★

# Who Will Police the Police?

By Howard Ehrlich

In Los Angeles, one group of cops routinely beat people, sometimes they kick and other times intimidate local gangs. They often planned drugs and made up charges to provide cover stories for victims' injuries. They intimidated witnesses and committed perjury to validate arrests. So far 30 convictions have been overturned and 20 officers have been fired, taken off duty, or have quit because of the ongoing investigation. At least 90 more cases are being reviewed. The City Council has estimated that they will have to settle lawsuits costing \$125 million a year and the investigations are spreading to other police divisions. Similar stories were revealed last year about the New York State Police and the Philadelphia police. Up the road from Baltimore, in Westminster, six cases have been dismissed, and more than 100 are being reviewed, because of an officer accused of planting narcotics on suspects. Stories of police misconduct and excessive use of force dominate the news in cities across the country. As the police response to recent demonstrations (in Seattle, Washington, DC, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles) show, spying, sadistic brutality, and fabricated charges are routine especially where elite corporate or political interests are targeted.

From the 1931 National Commission on Law Enforcement and Observance to the 1998 Amnesty International report, independent investigations have all agreed on the persistent problem of police abuse. Moreover, most victims of this abuse are members of racial/ethnic minorities, while most departments are predominantly white.

With regard to deadly force, the statistical bottom line is: Nationwide, police kill one to two people every day. They shoot and wound twice as many people as they kill, and shoot and miss three times as often as they kill. Most of these shots were suspects whose crimes never would have resulted in the death penalty. Most were unarmed, and it appears that about one-third of the shootings occurred during traffic stops.

Most people never report their experience of police abuse, and for good reason. In police department reviews, only about two to three percent are substantiated. In outside reviews, the figures are not much higher. Even if you manage to get a jury trial, which is rare, you should know that the police win two-thirds of the time, according to a National Law Journal report.

If you ask the public, as in a recent poll in New York, more than half the public said that the police often use excessive (as opposed to necessary force). Nationally, survey results show 5 percent of those polled say they had been personally mistreated by the police. The number is almost doubled by "anonymous" respondents. If you ask police officers if they have witnessed the use of excessive force by their peers, from 27 percent to 51 percent say yes. The percentage varies across departments.

Harassment, abuse, and sadistic brutality are actually only a small part of the "culture" of police. The police have begun to assert themselves in the judicial process. We are now seeing the intrusion of police into court proceedings, clerical, and appeal hearings, and even the selection of judges. In many cities, typically through a Police Benevolent Association or possibly the Fraternal Order of Police, police will campaign or advertise for a judge candidate. Is there not a conflict of interest when the judge presides at the hearing or trial in which the police are the defendants? Consider this recent event involving a Pennsylvania appeals court. The appellant asked one judge to remove himself from the proceedings since he had once received campaign funds from a police association. Since the basis of the appeal was police misconduct, it seemed only appropriate for the judge to do so. He did not. He refused stating that such grounds would establish an undesirable precedent since there were three other judges in the appeals court who had taken money from the Fraternal Order of Police. Police associations have taken out full-page newspaper ads opposing the granting of appeal hearings (the case of Mumia Abu Jamal is a current example); they have filled hearing rooms with a uniform phalanx, and have packed court rooms in uniform to intimidate the hearing officers. Are these acceptable interventions or do they, in fact, represent an important loss of boundaries between the police and the judicial process?

The police have further changed through their use of new technologies of surveillance, with many of the technology transfers coming from the military. Infrared scopes have expanded vision including the ability to see through walls to detect body movements and plant lights (suspect as indicative of marijuana cultivation). Television cameras are now located in public places in many large cities as the police have become the observers of our everyday lives. The F.B.I. has proposed a national system of wiretapping that would give them the capacity to monitor the content of one out every one hundred phone lines simultaneously. With the support of President Clinton, the FBI further has led the battle against computer privacy by demanding that they have the keys to all encrypted software.

Another dimension of the changing character of American police is their increasing militarization. Approximately 90 percent of all police departments in cities over 50,000 have paramilitary units. With their armament of automatic weapons, armored vehicles, helicopters, concussion and gas grenades, night vision equipment, and their organization of snipers and quick response units, police agencies have taken on the characteristics of a standing army. These paramilitary units, according to police statistics, are being used with an increasing frequency and in "routine" police work. We can expect that as the

police become even more militarized, they will find more occasions to use military tactics and technology at demonstrations and in their control of the central cities.

The continual use of unnecessary force, the new techniques of surveillance, the militarization of the police and their intervention in the judicial process — along with the obsolete character of police organization — all add up to a single conclusion: police work and policing must change. Police agencies have always been instruments of the state. Their abuse of power — violating the laws they are supposed to uphold, terrorizing the socially marginalized, and using excessive force has been held in check by state managers. That is, as police departments have gone "too far," the state has stepped in with a new commission, investigation, or new form of citizen review to curb, at least, the visible excesses. This has changed as the police have begun to infiltrate the judicial process, increase surveillance, and use military tactics and massive force in increasingly larger settings.

The resulting power shift can be seen, for example, by the state's acceptance of (and budget for) huge financial settlements with victims of police abuse and violence. In effect, the state manager's have said that costs of reorganizing the police are more than they want to pay and it is more cost-effective and less threatening to com-

penate or buy off the victims and their families.

A unique example of police-state abuse can be seen in two recent cases in which police officers invoked the fifth amendment when asked to testify about their use of deadly force. Licensed by the state to use deadly force, they then hide behind the Constitution to immunize themselves from the consequences of their actions.

It is apparent that we are confronting an anti-democratic, semi-sect, militaristic organization that conflates means and ends, disrespects diversity and often disregards the civil liberties it is supposed to guard. Nothing short of total reorganization of police and policing should be acceptable. As we consider this we need to ask ourselves: What would be the need for "police" in a genuine anarchist community?

Howard is a sociologist and writer based in Baltimore. He edits the magazine, *Social Anarchism*. He can be reached at socialA@nothingsm.com

## Our Bodies Are Political: FATPHOBIA

By Kangara Alaezia

We've heard all about it, the rate of anorexia in young women, the eating disorders, how half of America is suddenly "over" weight. We see the advertisements of their women selling this and that, or saying how they used to "be that way" [fat], and everything plastered on movies and TV is thin and airbrushed. We hear about how this affects the youth of our society to tease one another and stare themselves or bring. But how exactly have we analyzed this and have we looked at what everyone is profiting from? The fear of fat. It is what everyone is told not to be and to be it is actually a crime. So why is this society so great?

**BECAUSE IT CAN KILL YOU!**  
Fat causes heart disease and a whole bunch of other illnesses, right? We all know how fat people die. We are told by doctors and studies and such. But who were those studies funded by? There are many studies that say there is no correlation between fat and being unhealthy.

It is the fluctuation of weight from repeated diet failures that cause health problems. In fact, the ill-effects on health from the fluctuation of weight cause more premature deaths than smoking. In actuality, cholesterol causes heart disease and many other health problems. In fact, a meat-and-dairy-based diet kills you. And yes, you can be vegan and fat.

**BECAUSE FAT PEOPLE ARE LAZY**

We all want to be successful, fit and get things done. Fat people are often portrayed sitting in front of the television and eating. They never get out and take care of themselves. People feel the lack of activity to being fat. Well, there's no connection. There are people of every size that waste their days in front of the TV doing essentially nothing and never exercise. There are tons of fat people that exercise regularly, have lots of energy and do a lot of important work.

**BECAUSE THEY HAVE NO SELF-CONTROL.**

Remember the movie *Grosse Pointe* pick almost any movie with a known fat character? The fat boy was always eating, especially ice cream, or candy or cake. If he was not eating, he was thinking of food. This type of stereotype is always conveyed. A lot of fat people have been taught through role behavior to be very quiet about the food they consume, no matter how much or how little. Everyone has a desire for food. The idea that every fat indi-

vidual just eats all the time is absurd. Studies have shown that the food intake of obese individuals and the food intake of thin people are identical. There are thin and fat people who eat a lot and fat people who eat a little. There is no connection.

**BECAUSE FAT PEOPLE CONSUME MORE**

We see it all the time, especially on actual activities. Fat individuals representing a corporation eating up the world. Why this representation? Do fat people really eat up all around them. The idea that two individuals can consume the exact same amount and behave in the exact same manner must be identical in body mass is not only scientifically impossible, but a scary thought. I am grateful there is diversity in body size. How boring our world would be otherwise. Yet when people stereotype that fat equals more consumption, it suggests that we all must have the same body type to start off with.

**BECAUSE THIN IS BEAUTIFUL.**  
Yeah, and the thinner you are the better you look. That is why we obsess over the almost-skeleton models and actresses. In society there is an ideal that has been created. The majority of people strive to either be this ideal or to date the ideal. And we may say we are passed this, that we accept all body types, but really examine this. It is an easy thing to say, but a harder thing to mean. Does acceptance mean you can tolerate them, or simply not discriminate against fat people?

Or does it mean you look at them with the same amount of sexual desire as their thin counterparts, or not stamp them with any of the stereotypes beaten into everyone's head about who and what fat people are? An experiment was done placing two fake personal ads in a newspaper. One individual was described as 50 pounds overweight while the other was described as a drug addict. 79% responded to the drug addict. What does this say about our society and our fear of fat?

**BECAUSE...[FILL IN THE BLANK]**

Well, I'm sure the reason was contributed by those who profit from society's fear. The fact is fat people are discriminated against daily. May be in the workplace (fat women can an average of \$7,000 less a year than their thin equals), on the streets, in doctor offices (because every illness must be caused by your weight), by insurance companies, on the playground, etc. It is everywhere. If we believe it is wrong to judge others based on race, sex, sexuality, religion, etc., why allow society to discriminate based on body size? The increase in population body weight

over the last 20-30 years coincides with the increase of pressure to diet. Is there a connection?

We have a fear of fat because of what fat is. We don't just not understand what fat is and the concepts around being fat in relation to our bodies. We have been told what to think and how to treat our fat, or others who are fat. But who is controlling us and why? If we think of all the industries that are telling us lies, we can get a clearer picture. The diet industry, the fashion industry, the pharmaceutical industry, the fitness industry and many more. All of these industries make a profit from society's fear of fat.

How many new diet drugs, all of which are said to be a "miracle" find, hit the market every year? I'd hate to hear how diet centers make people feel about their fat when they walk in there. Because you know the moment they walk out, they are not going to weigh much less, but they're already-beaten self-esteem is going to drop drastically. The diet industry profits in billions a year. The diet industry profits off the health and happiness of millions of people.

There always seems to be a new ad on TV about a new drug to take for weight loss, or loss of appetite. Or course you then hear the list of serious side effects the drug will cause. It is said that people essentially risk their lives in an attempt to lose weight. Diet pills have been approved that are known to cause serious life threatening problems. Many diet drugs have been taken off the market due to their life-threatening effects. Studies of these same drugs have shown that the drugs did not do much to promote weight loss. But we all know who profit and who was considered expendable.

So as we talk about civil corporations, don't forget some of these industries. As we talk about discrimination, don't forget the struggles of fat individuals. Our bodies are political in every sense of the word, yet we allow corporations to control our perceptions without questioning them. They are not only making huge profits, but they are warping our whole society's view on fat and body image in general.

Think about all the people you know this affects. Is there anyone you know it doesn't affect in some way or another? These corporations are single-handedly destroying the self-esteem of millions of women and men — fat, thin or in-between. It is about time people start doing something about it.

Kangara is a "zine writer and activist. For more information about fatphobia and/or to obtain her zine (on this topic), write to PO Box 175, Corvallis, OR 97339.





# John Brown Rises

By Marilyn Buck

On the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of John Brown's birth, I would like to propose that we imagine John Brown would be were his body to rise up from the grave today and stand. "Pocahontas" Like old JB would reencarnate as a woman picking up where he left off, or rather had fallen short—in his ideological development. Radical as he was, he was a man of his times; he did not give much thought to women as equals. With the exception of Harriet Tubman, that is. She gave him no choice.

John JB would answer to Johnette Jhennette. She would still be of European heritage—white skinned, but she would be a liberation-minded political activist. Instead of slave catcher brutality and murder of African slaves, she would be outraged at the police murders, brutality and imprisonment of the descendants of slaves, conquered and colonized Native and Latin Americans, as well as Asians and Pacific Islanders—anyone who can not or would not pass for white. She would have reviewed history and know that despite the Civil War, Black Reconstruction, the anti-lynching campaign, Civil Rights, Black Power and new African independence movements, there is still no equality, no justice and no peace. Global imperialism with its white supremacist culture and social contracts prevail, more brazen and blood-thirsty than ever. A lot yet to be done.

Johnette would be at the protests and the marches; she would join with long-time radicals and activists as well as young folks her age against police brutality; call for cancellation of the foreign debt and reparations to all those peoples and nations raped and pillaged by the nation-state of which she is inescapably a citizen. She would support VICTORIA, Native Americans, as well as Viet-namese who are asking where are the reparations that were agreed to by the US and never paid. Johnette would march with women and continue to chip away at the dominant male political leadership paradigm. She would have gone to Seattle and would have thought back to her former JB life in Kansas looking for historical parallels. In Kansas, John has led a guerrilla campaign against the legalization of slavery to the midwestern states. Seattle, Johnette saw as one in a series of global mass actions to hold back the further legalization of global capitals' rape, pillage and dismembering of entire nations—the former colonies as well as US imperial colonies and the national working classes and reserve armies of labor—a post-modern enslavement with pre-modern dehumanization and dispossession.

\*\*\*  
The anti-WTO actions in Seattle were quite successful logistically. The transnational corporate plantation summit was effectively disrupted. It is always important to disrupt the lines of communication in the enemy's camp. A glimpse of possibility! But Johnette would have sensed the debate about violence as somewhat of a red herring. I one wants to effect serious, liberatory social, economic and political change, one must expect that the State will protest and enforce its true interests, not the

people's, even white people's interests. She was not shocked by the militarized police response—there are no guarantees of agreement. Not by the poor white slave catchers for the rich white agrarian gentlemen; not by the Indian killers and '45ers; not by the Pinkerton guards in labor struggles, nor by the Navy at the Port Chicago explosion. And certainly not around the world. Bombings, wars and CIA assassinations. And here—assassinations and incarceration for those who dared to challenge the State's agenda or its rights to exist as the US of A; no matter whether through civil disobedience like Martin Luther King Jr. or militant self-determination like Malcolm X and Nat Turner; or Arlington Cemetery full of assassinations and political prisoners who died in detention or of capital punishment.

The sights are set on liberation. And there can be no liberation or justice or peace when there is exclusion or hierarchy of nation, race, class or gender.

Johnette might flash back and remember the snapping of her—John Brown's—neck. She would see before her eyes her comrades swinging from the rope at Harper's Ferry and feel mortified that their names were not as well-known as hers. There had not been equality, even in death. Damn white supremacy! She would wonder, since she was thinking about actions and demonstrations: had there been a means of retreat in order to have lived to struggle another day? Had it been an error not to have awaited Sis. Harriet Tubman's arrival before the raid? After all Harriet was a keen strategist and tactician; she was fearless and clear that her troops were precious, not to be squandered. Freedom! Do turn away from y! To do so extracts a heavy price. Johnette would have heard of Asata Shakur and read her poem, "Carry on the Tradition" and know that she as a white woman had much to learn and that she too must carry on the tradition of fighting white supremacy in the heart of global imperialism.

At Seattle, Johnette would have advanced, hand in hand with other young folks who had learned from the struggles of their elders some of whom were still present, still strong. The young white comrades—radical, internationalist and anti-racist—were those not afraid to challenge their white privilege. They are clear that their interests lie not in white supremacy and capitalism, but in alliance with their Black, Latino, Native and Asian-Pacific Islander comrades. Like Johnette, they know the system must change. There is no liberation, justice, freedom from fear for some working

peoples. They attack the corporations with creativity and an understanding of the power of the State.

Together, these young comrades and Johnette, are concerned that many in the white Left, be they environmentalists, labor activists, feminists, Anarchists had not fought to include oppressed peoples from inside the US. Betina Martinez, in her article "Where was the Color in Seattle?" estimated that, including foreign national activists from former and neo-colonial nations, only about 5% of the entire protest were of African, Asian, Latin American or Indigenous heritage. Sis. Martinez, among other comrades, explored why people of color didn't come from an oppressed peoples' point of view of marginalization, alienation and the results, in Johnette's words, of white supremacy.

The issue is on the table. Along with these conscious comrades she had connected with, Johnette would change the question for white activists: Why was the relationship of the WTO and global imperialism to oppressed peoples inside the US not sufficiently addressed? Why do white activists support people's struggles against imperialist cannibalization worldwide but overlook or ignore the same atrocities and conditions inside the US: environmental racism; super-exploitative labor of women, men and youth; wholesale incarceration of a whole generation of labor and culture—post-modern slavery and genocide. Such conditions are not the fault of the targets and victims. It is the responsibility of white activists to stop the US government from its devastation inside the US or outside its borders.

Johnette would be engaged in organizing against the death penalty and to free Mumia Abu Jmal alongside the growing number of activists from their communities—hip-hopsters and anti-racist punks, radical rappers, saleros and rockers. She would join the upsurge of resistance and refusal in the face of the increasingly militarized police state. The sights are set on liberation. And they know that there can be no liberation or justice or peace when there is exclusion or hierarchy of nation, race, class or gender. Johnette and her comrades bring a legacy of courage and creativity.

She would be happy to feel the winds of change even in the stilling swamp of injustice. Again, in this life she would experience the possibilities of liberation inherent in challenging oppression and in preserving the planet for all peoples and future generations. She would not be afraid to fight for that future. She might repeat a slogan she heard from some old Black Panther:

"You're either a part of the problem or part of the solution."

And with some of that old John Brown fire in her eyes, she might ask: "which side are you on?"

(This article was originally published in a booklet by *Resistance in Brooklyn* and the *Jericho Movement* of writings by political prisoners for the John Brown 2000 Conference that took place May, 2000. Contact: [brianmumia@jcm.org](mailto:brianmumia@jcm.org). See page 20 for Marilyn's contact address!)

## Resuscitating Anarchism

By Jeremy Louza

Anarchism is dead. We just don't know it yet. Like some distant star, long ago burnt out but still shooting out its last echoes of light to our spot in the universe, anarchism shines in our eyes looking vibrant and strong when it is exactly the opposite. Anarchism is corpse; it is feeble, pulling itself along on the homemade crutches of WTO footage and faded posters from revolutionary Spain. What once was an idea and historical tradition that carried with it the possibility of social revolution, of a true and beautiful transformation of this entire stupid world, has become a music video, a hollow collage of "revolutionary" imagery and bold declarations which promise everything and deliver nothing. While anarchism rattles on about the revolution of everyday life, everyday life keeps rolling along in the same old way, leaving us feeling just as powerless and defeated as we did before we'd even seen even see a circle A. The sickness is still there, and anarchism has ceased to treat itself as the cure, opting instead for the role of opiate. We go on raising our fists and waving our black flags, less and less to change life, more and more to deafen the pain of living.

These aren't just the bitter poetics of an impatient kid, these are the real facts of our situation, evidenced by the almost complete lack of discussion and debate within our own ranks, by the incredible ease with which we can switch between passionate proclamations of our desire for liberation and fat jokes, and by the fact that so many of our ideas and our propaganda (those that are not borrowed from way back in the 1880's or 1930's, that is) seem to favor the cynical notion of civilizational collapse as more realistic,

more and more anarchistic than the notion of organized, voluntary social change. These are not the signs of a relevant revolutionary movement, these are the signs of an impoverished.

Where is the sense of urgency, the sense of purpose? Where are the self-reflection and the communication? Where are the vision and strategy? Where is the damn activism? It's all hard to find underneath the cynicism, the isolation, and the procrastination that plague us each day.

The very same things that are rotting the rest of our society away are rotting anarchism away as well, and we are putting up almost no resistance to it beyond the obligatory sigh or sarcasm. Often, I think we tend to assume that we are going to fail or be marginalized, and so we don't even have enough will in ourselves to try. We have just as little faith in humanity (and in ourselves) as everyone else, so we have just as few constructive ideas to offer. But even if we wanted to, our theories are so outdated, our analysis is so coked in that that we probably wouldn't even stand a chance against the current system anyway. Capitalism, government, patriarchy, racism, and the very dynamic of domination itself has changed so drastically since even the '60's that most of our rhetoric barely matches up with reality. This is nothing that a little (okay, maybe a lot) of thinking and discussion couldn't fix, but that is precisely where our will is lacking. We don't seem to see enough importance in anarchism, in revolution in general, to take the necessary time to ask questions, to take chances, to actively engage in the revolutionary process.

Indeed, revolution is like a switch that we can turn on and off inside of us depending on how our egos are doing. Sometimes we feel great and

some are? Are we willing to donate something of ourselves so that this beautiful idea might do what it set out to do: save the world? If so, let us get to work. If not, let's burn out the shovels and get this thing buried before we all miss our chances to enter the workforce and settle down like good little citizens.

Jeremy Louza is a member of the Association of Northwest Anarchists, an amateur theatrical propagandist and food-service worker from Bellingham, WA. He can be reached at [anarchianarchist@hotmail.com](mailto:anarchianarchist@hotmail.com)

## Popular Education for a Free Society



The Institute for Social Ecology offers a radical critique of the world as it is, while also advancing a utopian vision of the world as it *ought* to be. Our popular education programs, drawing from the best of revolutionary and philosophical traditions, provide an interdisciplinary framework to guide social change. The institute's reconstructive approach explicitly confronts new forms of domination even as it promotes a directly democratic, liberatory, and ecological society. The ISE has year-round study options, from a B.A. degree program in affiliation with Burlington College, to workshops and lectures, to two intensive summer programs.

**Institute for Social Ecology**

1118 Maple Hill Road, Plainfield, Vermont 05667, (802) 454-8493  
[ise@overnet.net](mailto:ise@overnet.net) ■ <http://ise.taao.ca>

# Cement Plant...

continued from page 8

include the economic and cultural issues in the messages we convey, and not allow a wedge to be driven between the different constituencies in this fight, when the common goal we share is far greater than any differences we might have with each other. SA's plans would further extend the precedent set by the Florida Rock Industries plant, and if "we, the people" don't get together to close this door that politicians and developers have opened to heavy industry, the traditional cultural and economic character of the whole region will be destroyed just as surely as the ecosystems and the people's health. Many of us left this action with a renewed understanding that we have to craft actions that clearly demonstrate the real enemy, and where the real threat comes from.

The fight against this cement plant is a final effort to preserve the relatively pristine quality of life for all species in the region. The big-money development interests have a virtual lockdown on so-called "democratic" political and legal processes and have their sights set on turning North Central Florida into an industrial death zone. After the approval of Swanee American's site plan and batch plant permit, a state DEP official was quoted in the press saying they expected plans to be submitted for "3 or 4" other cement plants in the region.

The Oct. 22 DEP action took some fruit in some of the ways that its organizers hoped. It inspired a certain segment of the activist community to pay more attention and get more involved in this fight, and it inspired some of the original cement plant resisters to get back in the struggle and get more militant. But now we've got a comrade with a felony charge, a bunch of bail money to fundraise reimbursements for, and an ever-widening gap between the liberal and radical wings of the struggle. Some of us are working on bridging that gap by reaching out to other groups and talking coalition, down up more support for direct action, etc., but we feel that no matter what the legalists and property worshippers say, more action and militance are needed.

This is a call for support and solidarity for Ichucknee Earth First!, the Ichucknee Mobilization, and their fight against this toxic industry. We could use some tactical and strategic radical ecologists out there, and we could use some information on similar struggles that may be happening elsewhere. We'd also like to open lines of communication with activists from around the Southeast who might be willing to come down and lend a hand if things heat up down here.

To get in touch with Ichucknee Mobilization check out [www.mtandogrim.com](http://www.mtandogrim.com)

To learn more about the issue and other groups that are fighting this cement kiln, check out: [www.ichuckneeknee.org](http://www.ichuckneeknee.org)

Jimmy Fishhawk is a poet activist in the Gainesville area and former coordinator of the Civic Media Center and member of Free Radio Jacksonville collective. He is currently involved with Ichucknee Mobilization and can be contacted c/o ONWARD.

## Gender Conference...

continued from page 11

Many of us envisioned notions of going home early, but instead, we took over the last day of the conference, completely overwhelming the agenda. To begin with, the women explained to the men our anger from the previous day. While the men remained silent, we articulated our demands, that men must meet in order to truly overcome sexism. Then we had the men repeat them back to us, reminding them of the sexual they forgot. Finally, the men were instructed to develop concrete plans for addressing issues of sexism within their own communities and to express those plans to us.

This conference demonstrated the pervasiveness of sexism and the ways it manifests itself in the activist community, as well as the difficulties in addressing sexism. At a conference on sexism, the men were unable to shed, and even encourage, their more basic, sexist behavior.

## Immokalee Farmworkers...

continued from page 7

Black, Latino or Indigenous, but never occupied center stage; typically, the farmworker is acted upon, is the object that performs work but is never the subject of her efforts. She is either hired or is out of work, she either accepts low pay or she doesn't work; she either works the way she is told to not matter how degrading or dangerous that method is, or she is fired.

**The Economics of Exploitation**  
The estimated annual value of fresh tomatoes in FL is around \$700 million. Florida agriculture as a whole generates approximately \$6 billion annually. If so much wealth is being generated by agriculture, what makes Immokalee one of the poorest communities in the entire country?

The tomato industry is an oligopoly consisting of 9 wealthy producers controlling 70% of the market, meaning a small powerful group buys labor and influences the wage paid to workers. As control gets more concentrated, bosses exert greater efforts to keep wages artificially low. For example, the piece rate for a 32-pound bucket of tomatoes was 84-cents from 1979 to 1997.

In order to make \$40 a day before taxes, pickers were forced to harvest 100 buckets, which translates to 3200 pounds (over a ton and a half). It wasn't until the Coalition started their "Campaign to Reverse 20 Years of Falling Wages" in the 1997-98 growing season that nearly 20 years of wage stagnation ended. The piece rate has since hovered between 45 and 50 cents a bucket.

This artificially low wage has changed the profile of the worker, distorted the industry and resulted in the demand for dialogue on the part of the workers in the Coalition. In the past, it was common for women to harvest tomatoes. Males picking tomatoes were older and sometimes families worked together.

These days, the average worker in Florida's tomato fields is a young, single male. Why? Because the sheer physical stress of harvesting tomatoes has increased to the point that women can not compete with men in earning power as they simply cannot pick enough to make it worth their while. The days of families working together are effectively over, since the wage for the work invested is not enough to support them. In 1997 a tomato harvester had to pick almost twice as many buckets to earn the minimum wage he would have earned in 1980.

### Direct Actions for Justice

The Coalition's office in Immokalee is where the subalternness, the fear, and the anonymity stays. At weekly meetings on Wednesday nights, humility yields to participation in discussions concerning national politics, local events, upcoming activities and worker grievances. Everyone has a voice. There is a sense of tough optimism in the air deriving from people who engage in hard work everyday and have little to lose if they unite with other workers in the same position.

If participation means worker empowerment, what has the Coalition been able to accomplish thus far. In November, 1995, the workers organized a 5-day, community-wide protest against off loading self-defense until turnover when we could be attacked tonight. Enrolling in a class

and learning how to effectively fight and/or use a weapon could save your life. One should know how to use our bodies or weapons properly, we will have a range of options available to defend ourselves—fight with our fists, protect ourselves with a weapon, or flee.

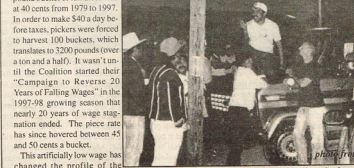
Emphasis should be placed on encouraging women to learn to protect themselves. As part of working for women's liberation, we must work to empower women and teach women self-defense. Everyone, however, benefits from learning it. Self-defense training for ourselves and our communities should be a part of our political work. As we empower ourselves, we must also stop being completely dependent on government agencies for protection. As we create anarchist infrastructure in the shell of the old to support ourselves and counter the current government and system, we must also prepare to defend ourselves and our people... A dependent defenseless people is an enslaved people... Learning personal protection and tactical self-defense is

is way down as well as the incidence of workers being denied their pay. Being a Coalition member with a Coalition identification card in the back pocket means the worker will be treated differently, at least tacitly, the Coalition worker is respected both by employer and other workers.

When members come to the Coalition office with grievances related to employer intimidation and violence, immediate action is taken. Other workers are informed and a meeting is called, where the workers collectively devise a strategy. Protesting workers will form groups and march through the streets calling community attention to the grievances. The workers may then march to the house of the employer and seek redress, a strategy that has proven very effective. The off-fending labor contractor knows he is now accountable for his actions because the farmworkers—in alliance with other farmworkers—make her voice heard.

Though the Immokalee farmworkers have accomplished a lot without much media attention or outside support, the struggle to keep growers accountable must be broadened, and the Farmworker march presents an excellent opportunity for people to become involved in our struggle. I hope to see you at the march on January 13th in Tallahassee.

If anyone would like more information, call the Coalition at 941-657-1776 or 941-657-8311 or write PO Box 603, Immokalee, FL 34143 or [CoalitionWFL@aol.com](mailto:CoalitionWFL@aol.com). The CWV has a website at: [www.cwv-online.org](http://www.cwv-online.org) or Peter Siedman at [psiedman@earthlink.net](mailto:psiedman@earthlink.net) or 305-867-0824.



Workers face off with police during General Strike

## Women and Self Defense...

continued from page 11

I would argue that women do not have any choice but to learn self-defense. We must be able to defend ourselves. We must be able to defend our loved ones. We must teach men they cannot get away with this violation. "Our task... is to make abuse of women more and more risky, something men can't get away with."

Recognizing the violence in our everyday lives and realizing that fighting back is a viable option is a start. But only when we effectively learn how to fight back can we view self-defense as a possible solution to the violence we face. Self-defense is a combination of knowledge—of laws, weapons safety, when to use the appropriate level of force and more; of mental strength—confidence, assertiveness, intuition and self-esteem; and proficiency with our weapon of choice—be it our body, a weapon, or both.

A woman who carries a gun on the street should not think that its mere possession will deter the dangers that made her buy it. She may feel less fearful and more confident, but just because she carries a gun doesn't mean it is safer for her to walk the streets."

Effectively fighting back is not something learned overnight. Going to one self-defense class or even one intensive week cannot replace consistent practice and training. We also cannot put off learning self-defense until tomorrow when we could be attacked tonight.

Enrolling in a class and learning how to effectively fight and/or use a weapon could save your life. One should know how to use our bodies or weapons properly, we will have a range of options available to defend ourselves—fight with our fists, protect ourselves with a weapon, or flee.

Emphasis should be placed on encouraging women to learn to protect themselves. As part of working for women's liberation, we must work to empower women and teach women self-defense. Everyone, however, benefits from learning it. Self-defense training for ourselves and our communities should be a part of our political work. As we empower ourselves, we must also stop being completely dependent on government agencies for protection. As we create anarchist infrastructure in the shell of the old to support ourselves and counter the current government and system, we must also prepare to defend ourselves and our people... A dependent defenseless people is an enslaved people... Learning personal protection and tactical self-defense is

important for everyone in our communities. To attempt to empower people to work to change the current system while not empowering them to defend themselves is forgetting an important aspect to liberation. We must end compulsory dependency—of women on men and of all people on the government—for protection. I encourage all women to take it upon themselves to learn self-defense. Take your mom to class, get your friends involved, teach your girlfriend... When you learn to fight back, you are not just fighting back for yourself, but fighting back for us all.

This is for my mother, this is for my sister, this is for myself, this is for my niece, this is for my aunt, this is for my friend, this is for my lover, this is for the woman who was raped last night, this is for all women who live in fear. Women who fight back fight back for all of us.

**Suggested Readings:**  
*The Truth About Self-Defense* By Masud Ayoob  
*The Principles of Personal Defense* By J. Edgar Hoover  
*Self-Defense: The Woman's Art of Self-Care, Intuition and Choice* By Debbie Leong  
*Effective Defense: The Woman, The Plan, The Gun* By Gita Maye-Hayes  
*Armed & Female* By Paxton Quigley

For more information:  
**AWARE: Arming Women Against Rape & Endangerment** <http://www.aware.org>  
Perpetrate My First <http://theserver.org/bv/22/retailer.html>  
Assault Prevention Information Network <http://www.jump-net-judith/APINet.html>

<sup>1</sup> Jacksonville/Orlando ABC Jacksonville, Orlando ABC Collective Statement: *The Revolution: A Politics of Self-Defense*. Pamphlet.  
<sup>2</sup> Kays, Melanie. "Women and Violence." *Fight Back: Feminist Resistance to Male Violence*. Ed. Frédérique Delacoste and Peter Newman. Minneapolis: Cleis Press, 1981. 100-163.  
<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Page 161.

<sup>4</sup> Quigley, Paxton. *Armed & Female*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Jacksonville/Orlando ABC Pamphlet.

Angela Beallor, c/o Kent ABC-BC, PO Box 942, Kent, Ohio 44240



## Women in the EZLN...

continued from page 10

"when a woman insurgent goes back to the community, she looks different. She is a woman of 18 or 20 who has not had several children, has eaten well, knows how to speak Spanish, and learned to read and write." Indeed, reported Herman Bellinghousen in 1994, "EZLN women are healthy and educated. For years, they led a Spartan existence, but with health services and regular meals. Just like [EZLN Captain] Amalia.

"EZLN Captain] Maria Elena thinks she is better off than if she stayed in her village. She would be like those women, barefoot and skinty, surrounded by sick children. But Zapatista women are not mothers, which is a very new and revolutionary existence for Chiapanecan indigenous women. As Millan explains, "making the decision about their own bodies, about when to become a mother, about marriage is one of the most innovative experiences Zapatista women go through compared to traditional community practices." "Instead of hugging a child," says Captain Elisa, "you have to hug your weapon." Captain Amalia tells that, because military training and babies simply cannot mix, many EZLN women use the pill to keep from getting pregnant—which is revolutionary in itself, because the idea that non-procreative sex is unacceptable reflects a great change in many of these women's relationships

with sex. In the village, contraception—and non-procreative sex—would be unthinkable: in the EZLN, it is the required norm. As John Ross comments in *Rebellion From the Roots*, "The use of contraceptives is encouraged... but an even shorter liberation given the arduous of liberated youth or women in the EZLN have all worked together to inspire the 'first Zapatista uprising'—the passing of the Women's Law in March 1993. Before the revolution within the revolution has only begun to emerge: Zapatista women and all other women around the world are fighting powerfully to make sure that Women's Laws, Women's Rebellion and Women's Dreams become inalienable components of OUR future. HISTORY shall be no more. Viva Mujeres Zapatistas!!!"

The "order of liberated" young women has been revealed on the battlefields as well, where Zapatista women have repeatedly proved themselves good soldiers. Laura, a 150 militia members under her command, reports Millan, and Major Ana Maria directed the takeover of the San Cristobal de las Casas City Hall. Nonetheless, Millan, "undoubtedly what showed the Zapatista women's the clarity importance was the clash in Ocosingo. [During the fighting in Ocosingo, the best of the women were the women officers. They got the wounded out of the trap. Some of them still have pieces of shrapnel in their bodies. They got people out, they got them out alive. That proved women were fit for command...." For Major Ana Maria, "...taking up a gun... is something very, very important. I am proud to be able to do that. Of course, we do not like to kill. We will, but not out of taste, but out of need. They have obligated us to

take up guns and kill to get what they have never given to us. But I, as a woman, feel good [because]... our struggle is just."

So the changing ideas affecting Chiapas conditions of the state since the 1950s, and the new patterns of behavior and "different" gender roles of women in the EZLN have all worked together to inspire the "first Zapatista uprising" the passing of the Women's Law in March 1993. Before the revolution within the revolution has only begun to emerge: Zapatista women and all other women around the world are fighting powerfully to make sure that Women's Laws, Women's Rebellion and Women's Dreams become inalienable components of OUR future. HISTORY shall be no more. Viva Mujeres Zapatistas!!!"

Bibliography:  
• Collier, George with Elizabeth Lowery Quarantelli. *Basat: Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas*. Oakland, CA: The Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1994.  
• Fox, Jonathan, translator. "The First Zapatista Uprising: An Extract of a Letter from Subcomandante Marcos," in *Ak-Weckon: A Journal of Indigenous Issues*, (summer 94), 69.  
• Harvey, Neil. *The Chiapas Rebellion: The Struggle for Land and Democracy*. Durham, NC: Duke University press, 1998.  
• Hernandez Castillo, Rosalva Aida. "Reinventing Tradition: The Women's Law," in *Ak-Weckon: A Journal of Indigenous Issues* (summer 94), 67-70.  
• Millan, Margara. "The Zapatista Women," in *Holloway, John and Eloisa Pelaez, editors: Zapatista: Reinventing Revolution in Mexico*. Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 1998: 56-75.  
• Ross, John. *Rebellion from the Roots: Indian Uprising in Chiapas, Mexico*. Common Courage Press, 1995.

Jenny Casad is a recent graduate of Vassar College, where she has earned all her professors to let her read books and write her thesis on the Zapatistas. She is currently going to start the next revolution in Tucson, Mexico... she hopes.

## Mob Rule...

continued from page 1

needed, will not give any credits for our condition. "We'll get citizens of this Republic. Not that he ever would anyway!"

We can starve or be shot down in the streets by paramilitary cops for all Bush cases, but not that what the Clinton-Gore neo-liberals been doing as well, while in the seat of government? Hey look! 100,000 new cops, 2 million prisoners, upwards of 1,000 killed by cops each year, massive poverty and homelessness, low wages and high unemployment in our country! I could go on and on to prove Gore-Clinton guilty of systematic dismantling of the welfare state by the Democrats, right along with the most extreme wing of the Republicans.

But this election is important because we may be seeing a new more extreme political concentration of right-wing forces in the government. Not just if Bush is elected, but because of the sense of crisis that the government generally feels. History can be a guide here.

In the 1876 Presidential election, Samuel J. Tilden and Rutherford B. Hayes were pitted

against each other, after the scandal-ridden presidency of Ulysses S. Grant. Tilden won the popular vote by a small margin, but fell one vote shy of the electoral college majority needed. But Hayes was declared the President after maneuvering by the Democratic party leaders (don't forget the Democratic Party was known as the "white man's party" and was controlled by Southerners until the 1960's), and bargained Tilden's tactical advantage away for the practical gain of getting federal occupation troops out of the South, where they had been since the Civil War. When this was agreed to by the Republicans, and Hayes was declared the winner in the electoral college, almost immediately a wave of racial violence by the Ku Klux Klan broke out where white vigilantes began murdering Black people with wild abandon, the segregationist governments came back and began enacting "Black codes" restricting any democratic rights we obtained in the South, and ended the most backward social systems in that region.

What can we expect now? Massive police brutality the sort we've never seen? Complete stripping away of any civil rights or democratic rights for Black people by the Supreme Court and Congress? Even more state executions? Outright slave

## So You Want More Anarchy in Your Life?

Get these great radical publications for your house, infoshop and store! They're all available from the Onward Collective. (Minimum order \$2) We have a limited supply so the sooner you order, the better! We expect the distro will grow as the paper does, so keep your eyes peeled for new stuff.

- **ACTIVE TRANSFORMATION:** A direct action Anarchist newspaper from Michigan. Feb/March, April/May, July/August, and October 2000. (\$1)
- **BEYOND DEMOCRACY HOME:** Excellent booklet with 6 essays on issues of democracy, the anti-globalization movement and the actualization of social revolution... a must have! (\$3)
- **CLASH:** An awesome new magazine of radical voices on art, cultural criticism, photography, politics, and music. October 2000 (\$2)
- **ONWARD:** The best damn newspaper you'll ever read! Great articles, superb layout, your life is meaningless without a copy. Summer, Fall, and Winter 2000. (\$5)
- We have many pamphlets on many topics. Send a couple bucks for some.

ONWARD • PO BOX 2671 GAINESVILLE, FL 32602-2671 USA

## Lucy Parsons...

continued from page 13

inevitably crushed by President Grover Cleveland, at first, the boycott was a success, under the leadership of Eugene Johns and the American Railway Union. For Lucy, the success with this struggle was another example of the strength of the workers and the coming of the revolution. During this time, Lucy continued to speak across the country.

### Rifts Within the Movements

Lucy's relationship to the Anarchist movement had always been vague. Because Albert died for the Anarchist movement, Lucy was devoted to defending the Anarchist cause. Nevertheless, the 1890's witnessed the formation of a major rift between her and others in the movement, especially Emma Goldman, over the more abstract arguments that Anarchist papers carried at the time. Most of these Anarchist debates revolved around the issue of free love. Lucy believed that marriage and the family existed naturally in the human condition and criticized Anarchist papers for carrying articles attacking these institutions. Her speeches against these topics, which she felt were far below the importance of directly working against capitalist oppression, alienated her from other Anarchist leaders.

### The IWW

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) formed in 1905, uniting Anarchists, syndicalists and trade unionists with the new revolutionary model of freedom. For Lucy Parsons, the second woman to join the organization, the class conscious perspective of the IWW warmed her political feelings. She believed revolution could only come through a well-organized working class movement that seized the methods of production, and that the IWW's tactics of militant strikes and direct action would enable this movement. In 1905, Lucy began editing *The Liberator*, a Chicago-based IWW paper. Through this, she took a stand on women's issues, supporting a woman's right to divorce, remarriage, and access to birth control.

From 1907-1908, with huge economic crashes, Lucy organized against hunger and unemployment in San Francisco. Lucy and the IWW took over the Unemployment Committee, pressuring the state to begin a public works project. The government's refusal to acknowledge the committee led to a march of ten thousand people, led by unemployed workers.

### Later Communist Work

In 1925, Lucy began working with the newly formed Communist Party. Though she didn't officially join until 1939, she had an affinity with the party. After major conflicts with the new directions of the Anarchist movement and watching its momentum slow, Lucy felt the Anarchist movement had no future.

During this period, Lucy mainly worked with the coalition for International Labor Defense, a Communist Party group, aiding with the Scottsboro Eight and Angelo Herndon cases. In both cases, the establishment charged African American organizers with crimes they did not commit. This was Lucy's first return to the South and her first work on issues involving race. Her work in these areas illustrated her lifelong dedication, to expose the fascism of the judicial system.

### Lucy's Death and the Struggle for Free Speech

Despite failing eyesight, Lucy Parsons was active in the fight against oppression until her death. Continuing to inspire crowds, she spoke at the International Harvester in February 1941, one of her last major appearances. Lucy died in fire on March 7, 1942 at the age of 88. Her lover George Markstad died the next day from wounds received while trying to save her. To add to this tragedy, Lucy's library of 1,500 books along with all of her personal papers were confiscated by the FBI. The struggle for fundamental freedom of speech, in which Lucy had engaged throughout her life, continued through her death as authorities still tried to silence her by robbing her of the work of her lifetime.

Though she affiliated herself with many different groups throughout her lifetime, Lucy Parsons' intense politics and beliefs remained distinctly individual and uncompromising. She never sought less than revolution to change the oppressive capitalist system surrounding her. Working with a clear focus, Lucy fought with the workers first, seeing issues of sex and race as intertwined with the larger struggle. The legacy of her seventy years of fighting stay with us to inspire our similar struggles today.



conditions for workers? An open police state? We can at least expect an acceleration of the worst excesses of the current regime. Which is why we cannot depend on politicians, the courts, or passive tactics if we just want to preserve the few rights we have, and to erect an even more just society. We must struggle in the streets, and make it impossible for the capitalist state to rule over us at all. We must make ourselves unmanageable. Anything else is a surrender.

## Sisters...

continued from page 11

And I will carry in my heart a heavy, aching grief at leaving these women, who have been my closest family, who have nursed me through illness, who have celebrated my joys, who have comforted me through the deaths of friends, who have taught me patience, perseverance and courage, who have made me proud to be with them, an enemy of injustice—and who deserve, above all, to be free.

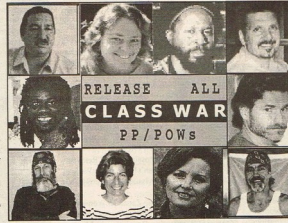
(This was written by Laura, a revolutionary anti-imperialist, shortly before her release from prison in summer, 1999. Alicia, Carmen, Delicia and Lucy were freed from prison months later. See page 20 for a listing of women PP's still incarcerated, and support their release — eds.)

"Any movement that do not support their political internees is a sham movement!"  
-Ojore Lutalo

## Pardon Request on Prez's Desk

Right now, sitting on President Clinton's desk is a petition filed by the lawyers of several political prisoners. This petition was filed on Sept. 13, 2000. People need to call the white house and leave a message for Clinton saying that we support the pardon of the "Release 2000 campaign political prisoners." Call as much as you can. Remember that Clinton did grant clemency (albeit conditional) to the Puerto Rican POWs last year so perhaps he will do the same for some of these prisoners.

Sometimes, the operators on the White House line don't understand what you are trying to say. "There aren't any political



prisoners in the United States." Sometimes they say that you have to give specific names of prisoners who should be pardoned. Here's the list of people who are being considered for the pardon: Silvia Baraldini, Hanf Shahzad Bey (Beaumont Gerson), Veronita Bowers, Marilyn Jean Buck, Bill Dume, Larry Giddings, Roy Lee Levasseur, Jean Karl Laaman, Tom Manning, Anthony Bottom, Sekou Odinga, Munali Shaker, Linda Evans, Leonard Peltier, Susan Rosenberg.

All these prisoners are represented as the "Release 2000 Campaign political prisoners," so you don't need to list them when you call, but they might ask. Call 202-456-1111 or 800-663-9566.

### ABCF Contacts:

Jacksonville ABCF 4204 Herschel RD Jacksonville, FL 32210	NE ABCF Bing, U. Hrm. Col. #09501/Bex0009 Birmingham, NY 13602-4009
NE ABCF P.O. Box 8532 Paterson, NJ 07508	Philly ABCF 4722 Baltimore Ave. Philadelphia, PA 19143
Kent ABCF P.O. Box 542 Kent, OH 44240	LA ABCF P.O. Box 3671 Anaheim, CA 92803
Winnipeg ABCF Box 8428 RPO Morse PI Winnipeg, MB R2K 4G2 Canada	Houston ABCF P.O. Box 687233 Houston, TX 77022-7233
NE ABCF P.O. Box 891 Lancaster, PA 17608	

## Olson SLA Trial Continues...

June 28, Sara Jane Olson was in court to discuss the present gag order, issued by Judge James Ideman. Apparently, there have been several violations of this gag order but all violations have been on the side of the prosecution. Two witnesses, Patricia Hearst and Former Deputy Brian, and the DA himself, Gil Garcetti have all been accused for violating the gag order.

Hearst used her family's media enterprise to voice her opposition to the alleged accusation, made by a man by the name of "Kent" in his dying statement, that Hearst was involved in her own kidnapping. In her interview with a Hearst owned paper, Patricia discussed her involvement with Sara Jane Olson and claimed that she was aware of the gag order. So in other words Patricia was aware of a gag order and just didn't care about it or felt she was some how excluded from the gag order. I guess when you and your family owns everything you think you can and do make the rules!

As for the others who were accused of violating the gag order, Deputy Brian filed a civil law-

suit against Olson, and discussed his relation to her in his suit. Garcetti, who is running is political campaign for something or other, decided to use the Olson case as a commercial for his campaign while he was on a radio, claiming that he is backing up this case 100 hundred percent. He later wrote a letter to the judge apologizing for his actions, claiming he wasn't thinking.

Olson's Defense Attorney claimed Garcetti was using Olson for his own advancement in the political arena and the case has now been tainted due to Garcetti being personified as an authority figure and the law. Anyone who tends to side with the law cannot be a fair and impartial jurist.

The Judge came to a conclusion on all three violations and the gag order in general. Hearst, he felt, was arrogant, but unfortunately was outed from his jurisdiction because she lives in Connecticut and not in California. Although he can call her to court to court, due to the Uniform Act, he cannot order her to remain quiet about the case until she comes and stands before the Judge.

Former Deputy Brian was not in violation of

the gag order because the gag order mentioned extra-judicial areas, so he can continue to talk about his involvement with Olson in judicial matters. As for Garcetti, the Judge stated that "heplicity they (the comment) will be forgotten" and felt Garcetti didn't deliberately violate the order.

As far as the gag order, the Judge said he would make up his mind about it in a couple days after reviewing all the information but doesn't see why Hearst can continue to talk about the case and everyone else is forced to remain quiet about it. The moral to the story: those with the power and the money do make the rules. If rules or the law are violated then the government will just change the laws to accommodate those with the money and the power. I guess Hearst has a reason to be arrogant, huh?

"The Judge ended up revoking the gag order a couple days later. The trial date is set for January of 2001 in Los Angeles. For more information on the case contact the Sara Jane Olson Defense Fund at 612-822-1637.

## Black Panther PP Up for Parole

Please attend to this right away. Mail to: Attorney Doron Weinberg  
523 Octavia Street  
San Francisco, CA 94102

Black Panther PP Romaine Chip Fitzgerald is in his 32nd year of imprisonment. He goes before the parole board on Jan. 4, 2001.

What we are asking is that you send a letter to his attorney this week in order to show support for Chip when he goes to the board.

What we need are letters of job offers, letters stating how his experience and his growth will be welcomed in his community or any community, for those of you that know Chip we need character letters, and letters from general well wishers.

## New 'zine from ABCF caucus

The Tactical Defense Caucus (TDC) of the ABCF will be releasing their own 'zine. The first issue is due out some time in Mid January.

"Condition Red Quarterly" will be published on a somewhat quarterly basis. It will be a zine

dedicated to encouraging anarchist and other left minded groups and individuals to letters of defense. Articles will be written by TDC members in Jacksonville, Kent, Lancaster and Philadelphia will be submissions from Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War.

The first issue will have articles on women and self defense, why and how self defense training is political, a review of the Robert Williams book "Negroes with Guns," product reviews and training tips.

The zine will be \$2 plus two 33¢ stamps if you can distribute the zine, or know of someone who can, please contact Jacksonville ABCF will be producing the zine for the TDC.

"Security is not optional!" -Ojore Lutalo

## 72 Philly GOP Convention Protesters Acquitted

PHILADELPHIA (AP) — Seventy-two protesters arrested during the Republican National Convention for blocking a downtown intersection have been acquitted of criminal charges.

The protesters acquitted were among a group of activists charged with causing a traffic-snarl blockade at an intersection on August 1, a day marked by protests throughout downtown Philadelphia. They had been charged with conspiracy, obstructing a highway and obstruction of justice. Some were arrested at the protest space.

Two protesters were convicted of obstructing a highway, a misdemeanor; another was convicted of a summary offense. They were fined and ordered to perform community service.

Of 391 people arrested in demonstrations near the July 31-Aug. 3 convention, about 300 were charged with misdemeanors and 40 with felonies. In more than half of the felonies, charges had already been reduced or dropped.

## NY3 PP asks for Assistance

BLA PP, Jalil Muntaqim (Anthony Bottom), recently writes:

"I am asking folks to call the NY PDOS and once again complain about harassment at Auburn, demanding that I be transferred."

"On November 16 at approx. 10 PM, upon returning to the cell after teaching a class on sociology, preparing prisoners to take the CLEP exam on the subject, I found the cell had been turned upside-down. All of my personal and legal property had been dumped on the bunk and floor, I was issued a Tier III report for possession of unauthorized organizational material, of which was my own writings, booklets and pamphlets.

"At 12:30 PM, Nov. 17, I was released from Kleepack status and told to see Capt. Gummerson. Gummerson is the guy who last year had me sent to the SHU for 90 days claiming I possessed contraband literature. This time, he returned my writings to me, (the exception of one booklet that is missing) and dismissing the misbehavior report."

"He claimed the order that the cell be searched saying that he was looking for a petition being circulated in NY state, calling for the release of NY state political prisoners. The petition in question, I authored on the request of Abdul Majid, and is part of the overall initiative in NY state on the existence of PPP/POWS. I did not keep a copy of the petition in my possession, and it is apparent that they continue to target me here. So if some folks can put pressure on the Commissioner's office, it will be helpful!"

Call the commissioners office at:

518-474-2121  
Demand an end to the harassment of Anthony Bottom (#77A4283) at Auburn Correctional Facility.

Contact Inmate Transfers at:  
518-457-6022

Ask them to see that Anthony Bottom (#77A4283) at Auburn Correctional Facility is transferred.

Jalil can be contacted by writing him at:  
A. Jalil Bottom  
#77A4283 / P.O. Box 615  
Auburn Correctional Facility  
Auburn, NY 13024



# COINTELPRO...

continued from page 7

gonna be any Black Panthers in the city of Chicago. You guys either join the Rangers or get out of the city." From that point on, things significantly worsened for the Panthers in Chicago.

In May of 1969 Hampton was convicted on a year-old charge of stealing ice cream. He was sentenced to 2.5 years in prison and denied an appeal bond because he advocated armed revolution. Hampton spent only a brief few months in prison but the climate against the Panthers and a stepped up Chicago Police Dept raid campaign against gangs created a sense of despair and uncertainty as to what the future held. On July 31, 1969 the CPD raided the Panther's headquarters, smashing equipment, beating and arresting Panthers and ultimately burning the building.

When Bobby Seale issued a national memo to all Panther branches to halt the admission of new members in early 1969, William O'Neal, an FBI informant was already deeply rooted in the inner circle of the Chicago Black Panthers as Fred Hampton's personal bodyguard. He traveled with Hampton on out-of-town speaking engagements, sat in on highly classified meetings and knew the intimate inner details of every Chicago Panther's life. O'Neal was pretty much left alone and concentrated solely on his Panther duties unless called upon by his FBI contact. This carried on for months until November, 1969, when a shootout between Panther Jaki Winters and CPD left two officers and Winters dead. At that point, O'Neal's contact agent, Roy Mitchell, demanded sensitive specifics detailing the floorplan of Panther homes who slept where and what kind of weapons were stored. The heat was com-



Fred Hampton in a pool of his own blood

joined by officer Joseph Gorman, a full-scale barrage of bullets was unloaded through a wall into the bedroom where Hampton was asleep. A shot had already hit him in the left shoulder as a second sub-team busted in the rear entrance shooting. Sergeant Edward Carmody and an unidentified officer then entered Hampton's bedroom and had the following conversation: "That's Fred Hampton... Is he Dead? Bring him out." He's barely alive, he'll make it." At that point two officers were fired pointblank range into Hampton's head, followed by Carmody's voice stating: "He's

good and dead now."

With Hampton's slain body lying in the hallway outside of his bedroom in an ever-increasing pool of blood, CPD seriously wounded four other Panthers on the scene before dragging all out onto the street to be mercilessly beaten and arrested on bogus charges of attempted murder and aggravated assault towards police. Over the next few days the CPD, in conjunction with the local branch of the FBI, utilized contacts inside the mainstream media to play up the angle that the officers present at the raid had used impressive discipline in not killing off more of the armed and dangerous Panthers than they did. Documented photos of supposed Panther bullet holes fired at the police during the raid were made publicly available to the media via a recreation of the raid on a local CBS news affiliate on December 11th. By this time, CPD had the entire affair swept up so tightly that not a single member of the raiding officers ever faced a single day behind bars.

In a formal letter sent to Hoover dated the same day as the airing of the tv re-creation, special agent Robert Piper noted and commended the excellent infiltration work of BPP informant William O'Neal. He requested a cash payment to O'Neal for his outstanding effort over the past sixteen months. Not surprisingly O'Neal was rewarded with the cash payment and commended for his duties. The aftermath of the raid left the Panthers in Chicago and throughout the state of Illinois in complete and total disarray; shortly thereafter they ceased to exist.

Over 13 years later, after the longest civil rights trial in the history of the country, the survivors of the December 4, 1969 raid and the families of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton agreed to a \$1.85 million settlement from the federal, county and city governments. Flint Taylor, one of the team's lawyers, called the settlement an admission of the role of the FBI in the ongoing conspiracy to neutralize Hampton and the Panthers.

**Suggested reading: Agents of Retraction** by Ward Churchill & Jim Vanderwall. **The COINTELPRO** by Ward Churchill. **Voices of Freedom** by Henry Hampton & Steve Fayer and **Seize The Time** by Bobby Seale.

(Part III will appear in issue 4 of **ONWARD**)

Greg Wells can be reached at PO Box 5021 Richmond, Virginia 23220.

## Support COINTELPRO Investigation in Congress

On Sept. 14, 2000, Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney hosted a Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) informational forum on "Human Rights in the US: The Unfinished Story of Political Prisoners Victims of COINTELPRO." This is the first step leading to the long-sought CBC Hearing to investigate COINTELPRO's hidden role in the death, injury or imprisonment of so many community activists of the 60s/70s era and beyond. Many of those imprisoned remain in prison to this day.

The Hearing will also seek to investigate COINTELPRO's effect on the community activist's family, children, mates, parents, friends and others victimized, many of whom remain physically and psychologically scarred to this day and in dire need of counseling, medical and psychological treatment, and other rehabilitative measures.

Congresswoman McKinney has taken a very courageous first step. It is extremely important that the country people across the country support her so that she, the CBC and other concerned Representatives can complete the process, otherwise it will stall. Members of the general public should write Congresswoman McKinney to show their support for a COINTELPRO Hearing and for the CBC sponsorship of a "COINTELPRO Victims Bill" that could result in compensation for COINTELPRO victims, including amnesty and release of all political prisoners. Send your letter of support to: The Honorable Cynthia McKinney, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

*(The above was sent to us from Prisoner of War Sandeeta Acosta [see page 20 for his address]. While we, the Onward Collective, do not intend anything to come from capitalist state agencies and feel that this process will, inevitably, rather than actually successful, lead to a whitewashing of COINTELPRO to deny both past and present manifestations, we also feel that it has the potential to be a positive step for the recognition and release of political prisoners in the US and therefore warrants support. -eds.)*



# THE ONWARD

Dear Comrades,

Many thanks for the first 2 issues of **ONWARD**, which I enjoyed reading and thought were very good. Thank you also for giving my case a mention in issue 2.

It should be obvious to anyone reading about my case that I am the victim of a miscarriage of justice, in the classic liberal sense, but it should also be clear that my conviction bears all the hallmarks of a COINTELPRO-style trap. To understand that, it is necessary to know something more of my political history.

I have been consistently active as an Anarchist since my teens, being involved in many areas of revolutionary struggle in Britain and elsewhere. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, I was involved in the armed struggle, and as part of an Anarchist contingent which participated fully in the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle in Lebanon during this period. In 1980, while carrying out a mission in support of the Palestinian resistance, I was arrested in Dover, England, and charged with possession of a small amount of explosives (C4), and subsequently imprisoned.

On my release from prison, I immediately threw myself back into the struggle, and in 1983, began editing "The Sheffield Anarchist", which I edited/co-edited for 5 years, as well as editing and contributing to other Anarchist publications.

During this period, I continued to be active in a great many areas of struggle, from industrial conflict to anti-nuclear protest, and from military anti-fascism to Irish solidarity. I also continued to be involved in prisoners support work (as I had been since the 70s), founding Sheffield Prisoner's Support Group in 1984.

As a result of my activism and local high-profile, I was continu-

ally harassed and targeted by the cops, suffering numerous street and house searches, brutality and frequent arrests. There were also several attempts to fit me up, and on one occasion, I was even jailed for putting up a poster condemning barbaric practices!

Following a failed attempt to fit me up on criminal damage charges, I instigated legal proceedings for wrongful arrest and malicious prosecution. This involved cops from the same police station fitting me to myself in fitting me up in relation to 'the Pomona Incident' (the case I'm currently in prison for). Not only that, but the cop in charge of the station was the very same cop who arrested me on the explosive charge back in 1980, at the opposite end of the country. At that time, he was a Detective Inspector in the Special Branch (Britain's political police).

When, on June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1994, I was forced to defend myself against 15 drunken, middle-class thugs who were armed with bottles, drinking glasses and a knife, after they attacked me in broad daylight while I was out with my baby daughter and a family friend, the cops really pulled out all the stops to put me behind bars for a long time. The circumstances of my conviction will not stand up to the slightest honest scrutiny - the state didn't make a 'mistake' here, they knew exactly what they were doing.

My imprisonment during which I have suffered a great deal of harassment and brutality isn't really about what happened on June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1994, but about 25 years of militant political activism/opposition that the state simply will not tolerate.

Always in struggle,

Mark Ramsay  
WA 2897, HMP Franklin  
Brasside Durham, DH15YD

Greetings,

I am in receipt of your scribe, and pleased to see you used my submission "The American Ethnic Cleansing" and "On the BLA" (see **ONWARD**, Summer and Fall 2000 issues - eds).

I am in great agreement with you that the legacy of armed struggle in this country needs to be read, studied and known by activists today. That is one of the reasons I had "On the BLA" printed and let it be reprinted in **ONWARD**. However, if you're interested in more material for certain the book *The Black Panther Party - Reconsidered* by Charles E. Foner, it offers excellent information and analysis.

At the moment, I do not have time to write anything new, although I am contemplating an essay on the difference between a Party-line and a mass-line. I believe such a distinction needs to be made for activists today. Also, I would suggest you to continue to ask PPOW to write on specific topics, and I urge your publication to try and identify specific issues in affecting our struggle that demands a national response from activists. For instance, I am convinced that Euro-American activists need to take a pro-active position for reparations for African slavery. This country has never apologized for African chattel slavery, there has never been an effort to provide reparations, nor an offer to hold a plebiscite vote. I am convinced that Euro-American activists need to take a definitive position on this issue in a manner that challenges white supremacy and institutional racism by the US government. This might be something you want to raise in your next issue to challenge the white Left in total.

Ok, I will keep this short.

Yours in Struggle,

Anthony Jallil Bottom  
#774283  
Auburn Correctional Facility  
PO Box 618  
Auburn, NY 13024

Send all correspondence to the Onward Collective at:

**ONWARD PO BOX 2671 GAINESVILLE, FL 32602-2671 USA**  
theonwardcollective@hotmail.com

<p> <b>MAJID (JALIL A.) LAHORIE</b>            SA0453 / Box 244            New York, NY 12101-1812            Update Card         </p>	<p> <b>DELBERT ORTIZ</b>            AM 4865 / Drawer K            Miami, FL 33156            DCI Dallas         </p>	<p> <b>JOSEPH BONEN</b>            AM7720 / 100 Pika St.            Trenton, NJ 08611-1116            1965-11-11         </p>	<p> <b>GUJORE NURU LUTAI</b>            06060 / PC-165            Trenton, NJ 08611-0823         </p>	<p> <b>ROMANIE "CHP" FITZGERALD</b>            BR-27327 / Box 200065            CSF-CAC Box 175            Repraes, CA 95671-0006         </p>	<p> <b>THOMAS MANNING</b>            10373-176 / Box 400            Springfield, MA 01103            MCP         </p>
<p> <b>UPSTON "JALIL" BOTTOM</b>            742853 / Box 111            138 State St. / Auburn, Ga. Box 111            Auburn, GA 30812         </p>	<p> <b>DI MULLI / SHAKUR</b>            742853 / Box 111            Atlanta, GA 30314         </p>	<p> <b>JUAN GREGORIO PALMER</b>            10373-176 / Box 400            DCI Dallas, TX 75201            DCI Dallas, TX 75201         </p>	<p> <b>OSCAR LOPEZ RIVERA</b>            8791-021 / Box 111            Terre Haute, IN 47799         </p>	<p> <b>RUSSELL "MARSHALL" SHIGETSU</b>            10373-176 / Box 400            Washington, PA 15389         </p>	<p> <b>THOMAS WARNER</b>            10373-176 / Box 400            Huntington, PA 15389         </p>
<p> <b>ANTONIO CHAMCA NEGRON</b>            0387-089 / Box 2000            W. Lister, Main St. 65014-1089            USF Allamwood         </p>	<p> <b>ED PONDKESTER #1104057</b>            525 South Avenue            Minn. Correctional Facility            MN 55101-1089         </p>	<p> <b>LARRY GIDGONS</b>            10917-048 / Box 1000            Union Springs, AL 36787         </p>	<p> <b>RAY LUCILLEVAUSEUR</b>            10276-014 / Box PBM            Edinburg, TX 78541            30315         </p>	<p> <b>SEKOU KAMAH (UN. TURKI)</b>            113008 / Box 5107            Union City, NJ 07087            36089         </p>	<p> <b>VERONICA DEBROS</b>            423116-138 / Box 1            DCI Dallas, TX 75201-0819            DCI Dallas (Med)         </p>
<p> <b>AZIZ ABUL MUMIT</b>            8694-004 / Box 500            Florence, CO 81001            1122-090         </p>	<p> <b>EDWARD GORDON GARCIA</b>            8694-004 / Box 500            Camp Hill, PA 17011-2000            SCI Camp Hill         </p>	<p> <b>LEONARD PELTIER</b>            8694-004 / Box 500            Leavenworth, KS 66048            86048         </p>	<p> <b>RICHARD WILLIAMS</b>            8694-004 / Box 500            9001 Kline Blvd.            Lompoc, CA 93401         </p>	<p> <b>SEKOU DIONA</b>            05228-004 / Box 500            Maricao, PR 00969         </p>	<p> <b>WILLIAM PHILLIPS</b>            AM 4868 / Drawer K            DCI Dallas, TX 75201            DCI Dallas         </p>
<p> <b>BASHER NABEELDI (YORK)</b>            8245313 / Box 404            Fallburg, NY 12730         </p>	<p> <b>HEMMY B. B. DE GEREAU</b>            8454-131 / Box 850            Florence, CO 81001            1122-090         </p>	<p> <b>LEONARD EVANS</b>            19973-240 / Box 51            5701 St. Joe, Camp Parks            CA 91208-0400         </p>	<p> <b>ROBERT BETH HAYES</b>            7442280 / Box 101            Comstock, NY 12821-0005         </p>	<p> <b>SUNDUKATA AKO</b>            19973-240 / Box 51            5701 St. Joe, Camp Parks            CA 91208-0400         </p>	<p> <b>WILLIAM "LEFTY" OLDAY</b>            P.O. Box 111, MC Shirley            Shirley, MA 01462         </p>
<p> <b>BLI. DUNNIE</b>            10916-08 / Box 1000            Leavenworth, KS 66048         </p>	<p> <b>HERMAN BELT</b>            7902823 / Box 100            Leavenworth, KS 66048         </p>	<p> <b>MARILYN BUCK</b>            00482-260 / Unit 6            5701 St. Joe, Camp Parks            CA 91208-0400         </p>	<p> <b>ROBERT THATCHER</b>            121127178            USPO 2601 State St.            Salem, OR 97310         </p>	<p> <b>WEDDY "JAH" HEATH</b>            7442280 / Box 101            Comstock, NY 12821-0005         </p>	<p> <b>WHITE "JAH" HEATH</b>            7442280 / Box 101            Comstock, NY 12821-0005         </p>
<p> <b>CARLOS ALBERTO TORRES</b>            8694-004 / Box 500            New York, NY 59892            SCI Dallas, TX 75201         </p>	<p> <b>JOHN L. LAMMAN</b>            10916-08 / Box 100            MC Cedar Junction            SCI Dallas, TX 75201         </p>	<p> <b>MARSHALL EDELY CONWAY</b>            112785            Jessup, MD 20794         </p>	<p> <b>OSCAR LOPEZ RIVERA</b>            8791-021 / Box 111            Terre Haute, IN 47799         </p>	<p> <b>138 State St. / Auburn, Ga. Box 111</b>            Auburn, GA 30812         </p>	<p> <b>USF Allamwood</b> </p>
<p> <b>CHARLES SINE SINGRA</b>            AM 4875 / Box 244            Grand Rapids, PA 16042-0444            SCI Grandford         </p>	<p> <b>JENNIFER HOLLOWAY</b>            030608 / 401 Fulten Avenue            Grand Rapids, PA 16042-0444            16043-1228         </p>	<p> <b>MICHAEL DAVID SINGRA</b>            AM 4875 / Box 244            Grand Rapids, PA 16042-0444            16043-1228         </p>	<p> <b>MONDO WE LUNA (D. RICE)</b>            27788 / Box 1000            8694-2500         </p>	<p> <b>10373-176 / Box 400</b>            Springfield, MA 01103         </p>	<p> <b>10373-176 / Box 400</b>            Springfield, MA 01103         </p>
<p> <b>DAVID GILBERT</b>            8341878 / Box 51            Grand Rapids, PA 16042-0444            12821-0005         </p>	<p> <b>JANNIE PHILLIPS SINGRA</b>            030630 / 481 Fulten Avenue            Grand Rapids, PA 16042-0444            16043-1228         </p>	<p> <b>MOMMA ABUL MUMIT</b>            8694-004 / Box 500            Florence, CO 81001            1122-090         </p>	<p> <b>OSCAR LOPEZ RIVERA</b>            8791-021 / Box 111            Terre Haute, IN 47799         </p>	<p> <b>10373-176 / Box 400</b>            Springfield, MA 01103         </p>	<p> <b>10373-176 / Box 400</b>            Springfield, MA 01103         </p>
<p> <b>DEBBIE SINE SINGRA</b>            030630 / 481 Fulten Avenue            Grand Rapids, PA 16042-0444            16043-1228         </p>	<p> <b>JOSE SOLIS JORDAN</b>            981 / Fulten Avenue            Grand Rapids, CO 30315            FC Coleman, LA 70001         </p>	<p> <b>MOMMA ABUL MUMIT</b>            8694-004 / Box 500            Florence, CO 81001            1122-090         </p>	<p> <b>OSCAR LOPEZ RIVERA</b>            8791-021 / Box 111            Terre Haute, IN 47799         </p>	<p> <b>10373-176 / Box 400</b>            Springfield, MA 01103         </p>	<p> <b>10373-176 / Box 400</b>            Springfield, MA 01103         </p>

This is a partial listing of political prisoners and prisoners of war currently imprisoned in America. This is a list of class war prisoners compiled by the Anarchist Black Cross Federation. Those listed come from a variety of backgrounds: Anarchist, communist, socialist; New Africans, Puerto Rican, independent, and white. Anti-imperialists, our current state of struggle, the best thing we can do is learn from those who have been fighting for the same things for a long time...and now face extreme repression because of it. If we fail to support our prisoners, we have already lost. Please write to someone today! Following this list of prisoners are the names of some of the prisoners who are the type of political prisoners: animal and earth liberationists, anti-nuclear activists etc. Political prisoners need our support!

The "Chattanooga 3" – black activists Lorenzo Kom'be Heins, Damon McMichael and Mikail Muhammad – are charged with violating Tennessee's hate crime law, which states that anyone who commits a violent act because of the race of a victim is guilty of a second-degree murder, or a physical assault to charge a lawfully married couple, after a year's probation. After many delays, they are set for trial January 11, 2001.

Lorenzo, Damon and Mikail helped organize the "Chattanooga 3" march of 1998, attended by over 150 people angry over the police killings of two black men, Montrell Collins on April 28, 1997 and a young man, James Ray McMillen, and McMillen were two of the over 40 predominantly black people who have been killed by Chattanooga police since 1980. No police have been charged in any of these killings.

Following the killings, Black Community Copwatch monitored police activities and called for a boycott of Chattanooga businesses.

Lorenzo Kom'be Heins, an organizer for Copwatch and a former member of the Black Panther Party, is a member of the Chattanooga Branch of the City Council. However, when the scheduled time came for Lorenzo to speak, he was ignored. When he took over a microphone to speak, he was interrupted by a police officer.

We are calling on all concerned individuals to take a moment to do the following actions on behalf of the "Chattanooga 3":

**CHATTANOOGA 3 ACTION**

- ★ **E-mail** e-mail to demand authorities drop the charges against the "Chattanooga 3" and release Mikail and Mikail Muhammad from pre-arresting police custody at Bill Cot. District Attorney, Hamilton County District Court, 1000 Main Street, Chattanooga, TN 37402. Fax: 423-609-7401. E-mail: [billcot@chattanooga.gov](mailto:billcot@chattanooga.gov)
- ★ **Call** the Chattanooga Police Department, 1000 Main Street, Chattanooga, TN 37402. Fax: 423-609-7401. E-mail: [chattanooga@chattanooga.gov](mailto:chattanooga@chattanooga.gov)
- ★ **Flood** various web sites with e-mail letters urging them to support the tourist boycott of Chattanooga organized by Ervin and the Chattanooga Branch of the Black Community Copwatch police officer in 1993. For more information about Boycott Chattanooga, visit [www.blackcommunitycopwatch.com](http://www.blackcommunitycopwatch.com) or e-mail [ccw@blackcommunitycopwatch.com](mailto:ccw@blackcommunitycopwatch.com)
- ★ **Contribute** to the Chattanooga 3 Legal Defense Fund, 1000 Main Street, Chattanooga, TN 37402. Fax: 423-609-7401. E-mail: [chattanooga3@blackcommunitycopwatch.com](mailto:chattanooga3@blackcommunitycopwatch.com)
- ★ **Pay** to BANCO (Black Action Network of Community Organizers), which Lorenzo and Damon founded in 1999, and Mikail is in PO.


If you will be participating, endorsing or want more info, contact:  
Houston ABCF-SG  
P.O. Box 667233  
Houston, TX 77266-7233  
(713) 595-2103, ext. 7585  
Toll-free: 1-877-875-2600, extension 807  
may19@pdq.net

Anarchist People of Color Caucus Forming  
A new Anarchist People of Color Caucus is forming and welcomes involvement from all interested. The Caucus, which will work as part of the Anarchist Black Cross Federation (ABCF), is expected to focus on helping to build a greater voice among people of color in anarchist and revolutionary political scenes; to relate issues of criminalization, incarceration, white supremacy, political prisoners and colonialism back to our communities; and to build unity and solidarity among organizers, prisoners and everyday people of color. Those who have never worked with the ABCF are welcomed to join in the discussion and get more involved. For information, contact the People of Color Caucus c/o Houston ABC-SG, P.O. Box 667233 Houston, Texas 77266-7233 or email [ernesto@houstonabc.org](mailto:ernesto@houstonabc.org).

★Anarchist Prisoners' Lega  
Aid Network  
813 SW 3rd Ave PMB #354  
Portland OR 97204  
aplan69@hotmail.com

★No Compromise  
PO Box 1440  
Santa Cruz CA 95060-0917  
nocomp@waste.org  
www.nocompromise.org

★The Nuclear Resister  
PO Box 43383  
Tucson AZ 85733-3383 USA  
nukeresister@lgc.org  
www.nonviolence.org/nukeresister.  
whoweaare.html

★Earth First! Journal   
PO Box 1415  
Eugene OR 97440  
earthfirst@igc.org  
www.earthfirstjournal.org

★ Political Prisoners of War  
Coalition  
PO Box 554  
Lincoln MA 10773 USA  
cwritsher@aol.com

★ Earth Liberation Prisoner  
Support Network  
PO Box 11331  
Eugene OR 97440

a publication that you should get!

**★Subscribe to *ONWARD*★**

*ONWARD* is a quarterly published Anarchist newspaper.  
Subscriptions help us fund the publication, so please subscribe!

- ☐ \$7-10 in the US
- ☐ \$10-13 outside the US
- ☐ Free to prisoners
- ☐ Sponsor a prisoner's subscription \$7-10

★ Distribute **ONWARD!** ★

☐ I would like to distribute \_\_\_\_\_ copies of vol./issue \_\_\_\_ of **ONWARD**. (See page 2 for distribution rates.)

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ State/Prov.: \_\_\_\_\_

Zip/Postal Code: \_\_\_\_\_ Country: \_\_\_\_\_

**ONWARD** PO Box 2671 Gainesville FL 32602-2671 USA

★Page 20★